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JPRS 83008

4 MARCH 1983

USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 18, DECEMBER 1982

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4 March 1983

USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 18, December 1982

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 18
December 1982

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : December 1982

Signed to press : 14 Dec 1982

Copies : 794,000

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"Kommunist", 1982

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 3-4

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered at its session the question of working people's letters received by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recently.

The Politburo notes that in their letters the working people express the unanimous support by the broad masses of CPSU domestic and foreign policy and their profound interest in strengthening the economic and defense power of our homeland and strengthening peace and international security.

The letters prove the inviolable unity between party and people and the close cohesion of the Soviet people rallied around the Communist Party and its Central Committee and their resolve to dedicate all their efforts to the implementation of the tasks of the country's economic, social and cultural development as defined in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The letters received by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet reflect the patriotic upsurge of the town and country working people, who are making a special effort in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, and their interest in the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned assignments and socialist obligations.

The working people are paying great attention to national economic problems and are showing their desire to make fuller use of existing reserves and opportunities offered by our economy. Many of the letters express satisfaction with the earmarked measures for the implementation of the Food Program.

The letter writers formulate proposals and remarks aimed at improving the organization of labor, the struggle for economy and thrift and the development in every citizen of a protective attitude toward public property. They justifiably raise questions of the need strictly to observe the requirements of the party and the government on strengthening state, labor and production discipline and the active application of legislative and public measures against those who violate it.

Many of the letters cite facts indicating that in a number of places the necessary struggle is still not being waged against individuals who allow

negligence, eye-washing, figure-padding, uneconomical use of material resources and wastefulness. They also signal the need to intensify the struggle against violators of public order and the theft of socialist property.

The letters contain criticism and remarks pertaining to many local soviets, enterprises, establishments and organizations in charge of housing maintenance. Examples are cited confirming, in particular, the fact that the proper application of housing legislation of the USSR and union republics is not assured everywhere.

Many of the letters call for decisively improving the organization of controlling the implementation of decisions made by local soviets of people's deputies on matters of working people's services, supplies, health care and recreation.

The CPSU Central Committee Bureau notes that such letters confirm the political activeness of the working people and their direct involvement in improving socialist economic management. The letters are also instructions given by the working people to party and soviet organs.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has made it incumbent upon party and soviet organs and USSR ministries and departments to ensure the strict implementation of decisions on work with letters and organizing the reception of working people and to take the necessary additional measures ensuring the attentive consideration and resolution of questions asked in the letters, and eliminating shortcomings in the activities of party, state and economic organs, which trigger the justifiable reprimands and complaints voiced by Soviet citizens. In each separate case we must ensure the comprehensive and objective consideration of the reasons for the complaints and make a principled assessment of who is to blame.

The attention of the USSR prosecutor's office and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has been drawn to the need for steps to increase the preservation of law and order in urban and rural settlements, bearing in mind that such problems have been particularly sharply formulated in the letters sent by the working people and affect them seriously.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo notes the great importance of a responsible and truly party-minded attitude toward the letters and proposals submitted by the working people in terms of the further development of the Leninist democratic principles. Every party and soviet worker and enterprise and establishment manager must consider such work his duty to the people and the party.

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'KOMMUNIST' EDITORIAL ON UNITY OF PARTY, PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 5-15

[Editorial: "Herein Lies Our Strength"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The destiny of our socialist motherland, the Soviet people and the Leninist party of Bolshevik Communists has been both enviable and difficult. It is always difficult for a pioneer to forge a path, and the one who goes ahead bears a double burden and responsibility. What can one say about the difficulties and historic responsibility of those who set about forging a new path for all mankind, initially having at their disposal only the profound conviction of their vanguard as to the correctness of the chosen course?

It will soon be 80 years since the completion of the great Lenin's titanic work to create the Bolshevik party, which inspired and organized the working class and their allies in the struggle to overthrow czarism and then cast off the bourgeois landowners' yoke. The fact that our party has always been able to formulate its tactical and strategic tasks accurately and implement them successfully is largely determined by the fact that it has devoutly safeguarded its political independence and integrity of world outlook. "Our party's independence and uniqueness....," Lenin wrote on the subject of the opportunists' political maneuverings, "are categorical requirements for me. Without them it is impossible to help the proletariat to pass through the /democratic/ revolution to the /commune/, and I will serve no other aim." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 49, p 411)

Born as a result of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, the world's first republic of soviets, in which power belongs to the workers and peasants and whose aim is to build communism, has marked its 65th anniversary; 30 December is the 60th anniversary of the unification of a number of such republics in the united multinational state--the USSR.

During those years our people have survived, overcome and sustained unprecedented trials, seemingly insuperable obstacles and countless sacrifices. Dozens of times--during the foreign intervention and the Civil War, in the period of the first 5-year plans, which were full of enthusiasm, in the long battle to the death with the crack forces of imperialism and in the

unusually difficult years of postwar restoration--the downfall of the Soviet state was predicted. After the Great Patriotic War imperialist politicians were firmly convinced that, although the Soviet Union had survived and had even become stronger and more cohesive militarily and politically than before the war, the unprecedented devastation of the national economy and the loss of 20 million human lives would force it to bow to its former allies and the Soviet state would inevitably fall into economic bondage to them, and hence political dependence. But these hopes were not destined to be realized.

The Soviet land, having lost the largest number of people and sustained the greatest economic damage, having no assistance from outside and being forced by U.S. and British policy to divert a significant proportion of resources from its modest postwar budgets into maintaining its own defense capability, was the first of all the countries which took part in the war to transfer its economy onto a peacetime footing and exceed the prewar level in the national economy.

The Soviet people, resolving in a planned way and on an increasing scale the problems of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development, have come to the 65th anniversary of October and the USSR's 60th anniversary at the height of their creative power. The Soviet state's economic and defense potential has grown immeasurably.

The consolidation of the alliance between the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, between those engaged in physical and mental labor, has clearly manifested in the strengthening of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society and the fraternal friendship of the nations and ethnic groups which compose it. The working people's ideological tempering has been stepped up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian, socialist internationalism.

Soviet people are rightly proud that their once backward country, having become the motherland of Leninism and October, has in only 65 years taken its place in the vanguard of social development, and that in the present complex international conditions it firmly upholds all humanity's cause of peace, social progress, democracy and freedom and helps other peoples by example and with its experience to pave the way to socialism and communism.

During the days of nationwide mourning in connection with the death of that outstanding leader of the Soviet state and most prominent figure in the international communist and workers movement, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, when the whole world, without exaggeration awaited news from the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum, the supporters of peace and socialism heard with the greatest satisfaction--and their enemies with equal disappointment--the calmly confident words that the party will continue to firmly follow Lenin's course, which is expressed clearly and fully at the present stage in the decisions of the 23d through 26th CPSU Congresses, and that its domestic and foreign policy, to whose elaboration and implementation L. I. Brezhnev made a tremendous contribution, will be pursued consistently and purposefully. The party's guidelines have been, are and will be the people's good and the preservation of peace in the world.

What is this force which give the Soviet people and their political vanguard, the Communist Party, their insuperable staunchness and has helped and continues to help us resolve the most complex tasks, tasks which at times seem completely insoluble? What is this force which has shown the whole world, at all stages of the Soviet state's history, the greatness and might of Lenin's party and the unchanging continuity and consistency of its domestic and foreign policy course--a course which springs from the programmed goals of communism and the immortal precepts of its founder and leader?

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on 12 November 1982 Comrade Yu. V. Andropov defined it thus: "This force is the unity of our party ranks, this force is the party's collective wisdom and its collective leadership, this force is the unity of the party and people."

Few words, but what profound content they are invested with!

Lenin thought about the unity of party ranks in laying the first stones in the foundations of bolshevism and developing the idea of K. Marx and F. Engels that "in order to ensure the success of the revolution /unity of thought and action/ is needed." (K. Marx and F. Engels "Works," Vol 18, pp 341-342) Lenin asserted that the unity of the working class is "impossible without the unity of its party...." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 22, p 256) Here it was a question of the unity of committed fighters, not the unity of all and sundry. "Unity is a great cause and a great slogan!" Lenin noted. "But the working class needs the /unity of Marxists/, not the unity of Marxists with the opponents and distorters of Marxism." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 25, p 79)

Lenin fought uncompromisingly against any signs of cliquishness or factionalism in the party. The Bolshevik party which he created made ideological and organizational unity a statutory norm of party life for the first time in the communist movement's history, thereby emphasizing their organic interdependence.

The various reformers of Marxism repeatedly reproached our party for dogmatism and alleged ideological conformism. But, as a rule, behind this lay the petit bourgeois desire to do without any definite, binding views at all, the desire to flow with the stream. "There can be no strong socialist party," Lenin wrote as early as 1899, "without a revolutionary theory uniting all socialists, from which they draw all their convictions and which they apply to their methods of struggle and means of activity; defending such a theory, which to the best of your understanding you regard as true, against unsubstantiated attacks and attempts to damage it does not by any means mean being the enemy of /all/ criticism. By no means do we regard Marx' theory as something final and inviolate." Lenin went on, "We are convinced, on the contrary, that it has only laid the cornerstones of the science that socialists /must/ develop further in all directions unless they want to lag behind life." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 4, pp 183-184) In 1902, addressing Russian supporters of Bernstein, Lenin noted that their "resounding phrases against the stagnation of thought and so forth conceal carelessness and

helplessness in the development of theoretical thought," while the noise they make about the notorious freedom of criticism "does not mean the replacement of one theory with another, but freedom from any integral, well-thought-out theory; it means eclecticism and lack of principles." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 6, p 23)

Modern critics of Marxism-Leninism have learned nothing over the past decades. Their still resounding phrases about the "absolute, narrow class approach" of Marxism-Leninism conceal their own theoretical sterility and their isolation from reality. Marxist-Leninists, while constantly enriching their ideological arsenal and carrying out concrete analysis of concrete phenomena in public life, vigilantly defend the fundamental principles of revolutionary theory against all encroachments.

...The end of the Civil War and foreign intervention. A brilliant victory had been secured over the combined forces of capitalist powers that were militarily and economically many times superior to the young Soviet state. Analyzing the political situation, Lenin deemed it necessary to stress in the resolution "On Party Unity" which he submitted at the 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress that propaganda on this question "must consist, on the one hand, in the detailed explanation of the harmfulness and danger of factionalism from the viewpoint of party unity and the implementation of the unity of will of the proletariat's vanguard as the main condition of success for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the other hand in the explanation of the diversity of the latest tactical methods of the enemies of Soviet power. These enemies, convinced of the hopelessness of counterrevolution openly under the White Guard flag, are now making every effort to seize on differences within the Russian Communist Party and advance the counterrevolution one way or another by means of handing over power to a political nuance as close as possible, on the surface, to the recognition of Soviet power." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 43, p 90)

At that time, in the "initial draft resolution of the 10th Russian Communist Party Congress on the syndicalist and anarchist deviation in our party," Lenin demonstrated the inevitability of wavering on the part of the petit bourgeois and semiproletarian masses of the population during the period of the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie's power and in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. Exposing the social roots feeding the ideological and political vacillations in the working class party, he noted that all the experience of previous revolutions indicates with absolute clarity and conviction that only the restoration of the power and ownership of capitalists and landowners can result from these vacillations if there is the slightest weakening of the unity, strength and influence of the revolutionary vanguard.

On the basis of these considerations the 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress ordered, in the resolution "On Party Unity," the "immediate dissolution of all groups without exception which have formed on one platform or another," and instructed "all organizations to keep very strict watch to prevent any factional actions. Nonfulfillment of this

congress resolution," the resolution went on to say, "must entail unconditional, immediate expulsion from the party."

The congress' resolution "On Questions of Party Building" lays down a provision which is the cornerstone of the party's development: "...The most general task within the party is not the quantitative expansion of party ranks but their qualitative improvement, the heightening of consciousness, communist education, activeness, independence and initiative among all party members, and also the absolute unity of all party ranks on this basis."

Following Lenin's precepts, our party and its Central Committee have always educated communists in the spirit of intolerance of any deviation from its theory and policy and resolutely cut short all attempts by Trotskiyites, Zinovyevites and Bukharinites, anarchosyndicalists and all kinds of nationalists to shake its Marxist-Leninist ideological, theoretical and organizational foundations.

With the complete and final victory of socialism, the social roots feeling various opportunist and revisionist groups and groupings within the party were eliminated. In the conditions of developed socialism, where the intensive erasure of class differences takes place, a new historical community has been formed--the Soviet people--who as a whole increasingly reflect in their ideological, political and moral makeup the best features of the working class--its collectivism, selflessness, organization and discipline. In these conditions there can be no objective scope for the emergence of any special factions or groups within the party. That is why the CPSU has not for a long time held the mass purges which were necessary in the transitional period.

But even in our day we must face the fact that in the society of mature socialism we still encounter such alien elements as bribetakers, parasites, embezzlers, moneygrubbers, careerists and other socially depraved people, people who are morally damaged and succumb to the cunning ideological contortions of our class enemies abroad. Many among them do everything in their power to penetrate the party and deceive the public for a time in its opinion of them.

Our class opponents also know very well what the party's unity means in the life of Soviet society. In particular, G. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union (now a professor at Princeton University), wrote: "If anyone ever succeeds in breaking the unity and strength of the Communist Party as a political instrument, Soviet Russia could be rapidly turned into one of the weakest, most insignificant societies after being one of the strongest."

The party bases its activity on the programs and rules, which contain the necessary guarantees for ridding the party's own ranks of stray and corrupt elements, constantly improving its qualitative composition and increasingly strengthening Leninist unity, which ensures the unity of Soviet society as a whole in its steady march toward communism. /"The party's indestructible ideological and organizational cohesion is the most important source of its

invincibility and the guarantee of the successful resolution of the great tasks of communist building,"/ the CPSU program says.

The party's collective wisdom and its collective leadership--the entire 80-year history of our party lies behind these words by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. The 65 years of leadership of this huge multinational country have taken place in the conditions of civil war, hunger, ruin, the mixed economy and the illiteracy of 3/4 of the population; in the years of peaceful building, the creation of a fundamentally new social system and its defense against imperialist aggression, in the atmosphere of the economic upsurge and cultural flourishing of all the USSR's nations and ethnic groups, who built the society of developed socialism by joint efforts in a very short space of time.

The Leninist party has always taken strict account of the correlation of class forces within the country and the interests of all classes and social groups of the working people and all nations and ethnic groups, set them goals which have sometimes appeared fantastic but were in fact based on careful scientific calculations and were realistically attainable, and indicated the most reliable ways of implementing these aims. So it was in the days of Great October and in the most difficult period of the civil war and foreign intervention. So it has been at all stages of Soviet society's history. Success was possible because the party incorporated the splendor and the pride of the working class and also of those representatives of the peasantry and the scientific, technical and creative intelligentsia who had assimilated a proletarian world outlook and communist ideals. Following the appeals of the Leninist Central Committee, communists marched in the front ranks of servicemen and builders, carrying everyone behind them and infecting everyone with their selflessness, heroism and commitment.

Lenin gave a tremendous role in strengthening the party's unity and its combat capability to its collective leader--the Central Committee. In letters to the 12th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress he expressed the hope that "our Central Committee together with the Central Auditing Commission will finally take the path of transformation into the supreme party conference--the path on which it has in essence already embarked and which it should follow to the end...." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 45, p 384)

The leader's expectations were justified. However complex the circumstances, the Central Committee always put new problems in front of the entire party, accumulating from among the thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of proposals all the valuable elements arising in the course of free mass discussions, and has adopted decisions which became the law for all communists, who even at that time acted as one person.

The very fact of the party's being built on the basis of democratic centralism gives it the opportunity to learn the opinions of all its members in a short space of time and to elaborate precise instructions and channel the energy, knowledge and experience of the party as a whole into their fulfillment. This gives the party a strength which is multiplied

many times by the organization and discipline of its members, maneuverability and the ability to rapidly restructure its ranks and focus efforts on the main salients.

The CPSU Central Committee November (1982) plenum discussed and approved in the main the draft USSR state plan for economic and social development and the draft USSR state budget for the third year of the 5-year plan. This event was preceded everywhere by a nationwide summing up of results and the preliminary discussion of plans for the future. These results, the results of the discussion and the questions on which the Central Committee plenum focused the entire party's attention were reflected in depth in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech. Noting that the drafts under discussion accord with the principles of the 26th CPSU Congress, that concern for the Soviet person, his working and living conditions and his spiritual development remains the party's most important programmed principle and that the present-day international situation demands that full account be taken of the country's defense needs, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov dwelt on unresolved problems and those which are not being resolved effectively enough.

No planning for the future which could really be called scientific is possible without the critical analysis of what has already been achieved. Without an accurate knowledge of all the weak and strong points in the position already gained, progress can be only random.

"We must constantly check on ourselves," Lenin stressed, "by studying the chain of political events as a whole, their casual connections and their results. By analyzing yesterday's mistakes we will learn to avoid mistakes today and tomorrow." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 34, p 257)

This spirit of forward-looking Leninist critical analysis permeates assessments of the state of affairs as regards the fulfillment of a number of most important plan indicators in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, particularly in such respects as production efficiency and its main indicator--labor productivity--and also the lack of coordination in the development of the raw materials and processing sectors, the impermissibly high materials-intensiveness of output, great expenditure and costs in production, and the squandering of labor and resources.

There was particularly sharp criticism at the plenum of the state of affairs in railroad transport, ferrous metallurgy and capital construction. The reasons for the shortcomings were stated with Bolshevik directness.

Inertia, being accustomed to old ways, and sometimes ignorance of the matter in question hinder the improvement of the entire sphere of the leadership of the economy--management, planning and the economic machinery. All this is for the most part a sphere of activity where decisive significance is attached to the subjective factor--people, cadres, leaders at all levels.

Unfortunately there are still many workers who confuse the respectful attitude toward cadres cultivated by the party with permissiveness and an

all-forgiving approach. They create the semblance of work and "paper bustle" instead of advancing the task they are responsible for. Such leaders waste a large part of their working time on perfecting the dubious ability to explain lapses in their own work in terms of objective factors such as natural disasters. With such "explanations" it appears that nobody is responsible. But somebody is responsible, and there is every justification for calling them to account to the fullest extent!

The most popular "argument" against calling a responsible worker directly and impartially to account (incidentally, let us note that in the socialist society there should be no such thing as an irresponsible worker) is the fear that criticism will allegedly undermine his authority. That is the ingenuous wisdom of petty officials.... Lenin wrote quite clearly on this score: "The authority of 'appointees' is undermined not by those who correct their mistakes but by those who seek to defend them even when they make mistakes." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 42, pp 274-275) He himself made the highest demands on party and state cadres. And this at a time when, even according to 1927 figures, 27.1 percent of the entire membership of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) were either illiterate or had "home education," 63 percent had elementary education and only 9.9 percent had education beyond primary school (including only 0.8 percent with higher education). Now we have no communists who have not received elementary education at all, and no--or almost no--secretaries not only of republic party committees but even of raykoms or primary organization party committees without higher or at least secondary education. An all-embracing system for retraining cadres at all levels has been created.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's following words, which the participants in the Central Committee plenum greeted with applause, resounded with all the more reason: "It is necessary to create conditions--economic and organizational--which would stimulate qualitative, productive labor, initiative and enterprise. And, conversely, bad work, inactivity and irresponsibility must affect in a most direct and inevitable manner the material remuneration, the official position and the moral authority of workers."

Speaking about the need to increase responsibility for the observance of the interests of the whole state and the whole people and about the resolute eradication of departmentalism and parochialism, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out: "It must be made a rule that every new decision on one and the same question is adopted only when previous decisions have been fulfilled or some new circumstances have arisen. The struggle should be waged more resolutely against any violations of party, state and labor discipline. I am sure that in this we will meet with the full support of party and trade union organizations and the support of all Soviet people."

All these demands are not something extraordinary. They express in a concise and unambiguous form the Leninist principles of party life and party leadership and the norms of communist morality. The majority of them are recorded in the second and third paragraphs of the CPSU rules, which define the duties and rights of the party member, and in the moral code of the builder of communism. Their unconditional observance by every communist

(and not just formal but essential observance, for this is a condition of party membership in general), and demanding precisely that from party comrades--this is what makes it a monolithic collective of like-minded Leninists, and its members right-flank stalwarts in the ranks of the fighters for communism. What is needed to ensure that these demands are strictly fulfilled is high mutual exactingness and the very broad development of criticism and self-criticism in intraparty relations, for the higher the post entrusted to a communist, the more concern the party shows for his businesslike, political and moral qualities.

The plenum devoted special attention to the utilization of reserves, which are sometimes so obvious that there is not even any need to reveal them. These are, above all, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the introduction of the achievements of science and progressive experience into production and the rational utilization of material and labor resources. We have enough of both our own and world experience and scientific and technical achievements, and we have brilliant examples of their application and many approved creative initiatives. At the same time, "you will not get things moving with slogans alone." The following demand of Lenin's lies at the basis of this idea: "Less indecisive and bureaucratic self-importance, and more study of what our practical experience gives--at the center and logically--and what science has already given us." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 42, p 347) Considering the main tasks of the country's economic and social development, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized organizations, economic leaders and engineering and technical personnel, so that each one of these tremendous, important tasks is viewed in the context not only of each sector but also of each plant, shop, section and, if you like, each workbench."

The plenum directed party organizations to mobilize all the means at our disposal and called for the broad propaganda and explanation of the 1983 plan targets to be undertaken.

As is known, the best-thought-out and considered plans are implemented by people. Consequently, the guarantee of success lies in the correct selection and placing of cadres, so that politically mature, competent and enterprising people who possess organizational abilities and a feeling for the new--without which, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out, it is impossible to direct modern production successfully in our time--are in the decisive sectors.

It is a very important task of party committees and soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs to enhance the activeness of the working masses themselves, for the party's ideas, plans and appeals become a material force only when they get a hold on the masses. The plenum pointed out that it is now particularly important and necessary for every working person to understand that the plan's fulfillment depends also on his labor contribution and for everyone to be well aware of the simple truth that the better we work, the better we will live.

The party has already developed work on realizing these demands. Plenums of republic party committees and of kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have been held to discuss the economic and social development plans for 1983, as well as the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) plenum decisions, in order that, as was emphasized at the November plenum, "we collate all practical actions in this important sector of the economy with the Food Program."

The decisions adopted by the plenum and the conclusions and propositions contained in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech have become a directive for practical deeds for almost 900,000 primary and shop party organizations and for the entire 18 million-strong army of Soviet communists. Success in resolving the multifaceted tasks set before the party and the Soviet people--tasks calculated to require a great effort, but which can undoubtedly be fulfilled--depends on the unity of their will and action and on their cohesive and concerted work jointly with their nonparty comrades in labor.

It is necessary to exercise constant party control over the course of affairs and over the fulfillment of every communist's responsibilities and party duty and to expose without the slightest tolerance everything that runs counter to the Leninist norms of party life, the demands of the CPSU program and rules and communist morality. "You can know the ABC's of communism by heart," S. M. Kirov said, "but if it does not lie in your heart nothing will come of it, and you will be a sacristan of communism, not a fighter. If you want to be an active communist fighter, you must take up arms with all Bolshevik fury against those shortcomings which slow down our building."

The people's collective political leader--the Communist Party--monitors the activity of all organizations, departments and establishments and of all workers, both communists and nonparty people. The party has no concerns other than concern for the good of the people, and the aims and tasks of the party and the people are the same.

Marxist-Leninist theory teaches and historical experience confirms that a political party, however strong, cannot itself reorganize society in accordance with its own ideals. Marx' idea that "no revolution can be accomplished by a party, it is /accomplished only by the people/" (K. Marx and F. Engels "Works," Vol 45, p 475) is borne out by the experience of all revolutions over the past century. But Marxist-Leninist teaching has equally definitely and unequivocally established, and revolutionary experience has confirmed, that "only a political party of the working class, that is, the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, educating and organizing a vanguard of the proletariat and of the entire working mass which alone is capable both of countering the inevitable petit bourgeois waverings of this mass and the inevitable traditions and relapses of professional narrowness or professional prejudice among the proletariat and leading the entire united activity of the whole proletariat, that is, leading it politically and, through it, leading all the working masses." (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 43, p 94)

In all countries without exception where socialist transformations have been or are being carried out they have been carried out under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, even when they were begun in the total or almost total absence of a working class, as, for example, in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The more profound the revolutionary transformations, then the greater the masses of people involved in them, the higher must be the standard of the political leadership of these masses exercised by the party, and the greater must be the trust and support which its policy enjoys among the people's masses. Conversely, the higher the standard of political leadership of the people's masses and all their public organizations, then the more successfully the creativity of the masses themselves is developed, and the more fruitful, purposeful and conscious their revolutionary-transforming activity will be.

Our party has attained the position of the political leader and vanguard of the entire Soviet people through decades of struggle unparalleled in terms of courage, selflessness and dedication to the working people's interests. This position, once attained, is not maintained automatically. Emphasizing the need to strengthen the party's leading role and its vanguard position in society, Lenin tirelessly reminded people that the party must live in the thick of the masses, constantly know their needs and sentiments and their ability to perceive and readiness to realize particular calls, know how to approach the masses with a clear action program meeting their fundamental interests and win the working people's full confidence. "...A forward detachment," he wrote, "educates and enlightens the mass, expressing its interests, teaching it organization and channeling all the activity of the mass along the path of a conscious class policy." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 24, p 37)

The party both inspires and organizes the actions of the working masses, foresees further paths of movement toward the set final goal and substantiates them theoretically, proceeding from the conclusions of revolutionary theory and the experience of the people's revolutionary creativity. Lenin drew attention to this aspect of the matter when he pointed out that it cannot be claimed that Marx or Marxists know the way to socialism in all its concreteness. "We know the direction of this path, we know that class forces lead along it, but concretely, practically, this will be shown only by /the experience of millions/, when they set to work." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 34, p 116)

The experience of the masses is multifaceted, and the new phenomena of social practice are equally multifaceted. The party sums up this experience, selecting from it everything that promotes progress and supports the shoots of what is new and of proven communist nature, rejecting what is fortuitous, alien and noncommunist. There is no Marxism-Leninism outside the generalization of practical experience passed through the prism of history and the dialectical materialist method. The party's resolution of this task is directly dependent on how deeply it has grown into the midst of the people and how successfully it helps them to realize their strength and potential and is able to head their creative activity.

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized the increase in the party's leading role under the conditions of developed socialism, and the party did not stop at that affirmation. The 26th congress pointed out: "We know well from both our past and present experience that the role of society's leading force does not come about of its own accord. This role is earned and attained in the course of a constant, incessant struggle for the working people's interests. This role is consolidated by the fact that the party constantly deepens its ties with the people's masses and lives their needs and concerns."

In 1895 the Petersburg "alliance of struggle for the liberation of the working class," which Lenin set up, united several dozen professional revolutionaries. Some 10 years later tens of hundreds of thousands of people were following the party of Leninists. Millions accomplished the October Revolution beneath the Leninist banner. Tens of millions built socialism under the leadership of Lenin's party and defended its gains. Now the entire Soviet people are creating communism.

The facts are characteristic. The greatest influx of workers, peasants and soldiers into the party was observed not during easy times but in times of the greatest difficulties. Let us recall the party work in 1919 when Denikin's bands armed by the imperialists were approaching Tula, and Yudenich was near Petrograd. Admission to the party at that time meant the right to be the first to go to the first hanged by the White Guards. Let us recall the days of mourning associated with the death of the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. Leninism's enemies--the Trotskiyites--had begun to stir, but at the time of the Leninist appeal more than 240,000 workers helped the party to strengthen its ranks from their machine tools.

So it was during the years of the first 5-year plans, in the most difficult sectors. The people's trust in the party manifested itself with staggering force during the years of the Great Patriotic War. The greatest influx into its ranks came at the time of the battle of Stalingrad, when the fascist hordes blockaded Leningrad and swept into the North Caucasus: admission to the party then meant the right to be sent on a most dangerous mission.

Those difficult times are the property of history. But even today the working people's desire to link their destiny with the party's by joining its ranks is so great that the recent CPSU congresses have repeatedly drawn the attention of primary party organizations and local party committees to the need for the strictest selection of the most active, conscientious, progressive and ideologically convinced builders of communism for the party.

The CPSU Central Committee November plenum and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech there have confirmed once again that our party's entire domestic and foreign policy, which is aimed at strengthening the socialist community in every possible way in the economic, ideological, political and defense respects, at developing and improving relations with all the socialist countries--and this also applies to our great neighbor, the PRC--at

strengthening solidarity with states which have freed themselves from colonial oppression and with peoples defending their independence and, finally, at open and honest cooperation with all countries which reciprocate, at resolving international problems which arise not by means of saber rattling but at the negotiating table, with full equality of rights and regard for the interests of both sides, and confirming the Soviet Union's initiatives on "freezing" nuclear arms as a first step to their subsequent mutual reduction, is a policy in the name of ensuring peaceful labor, improving well-being and broadening conditions for the Soviet people's all-round development.

The Soviet people are responding to the CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions with new labor enthusiasm and new achievements bringing closer the communist tomorrow. The accordance of party policy with the people's interests, the people's unanimous support for it and the unity of the party and the people are a very profound source of the strength and might of Soviet society and a guarantee of the successful resolution of the tasks facing it.

The working masses, Lenin said in 1920, must "reeducate themselves for the building of communism--without this it is impossible to start the business of building. Our entire experience shows that this is too serious a matter, and therefore we must keep sight of recognition of the party's leading role, and we cannot overlook this when discussing the question of activities and organizational building." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 41, p 4021)

In asserting "the party's leading role," every communist in any sector of work--in the shop, livestock unit, laboratory or military unit--is called upon to strengthen this role of the party himself and to embody the unity of the party and the people in practice.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers appeal to the Communist Party and the Soviet people states: "The Soviet people see the party as their proven collective guide and wise leader and organizer. Service to the working class and the working people is the highest aim and meaning of all the party's activity. The unshakable unity of party and people was and still is a source of the invincible strength of Soviet society. The CPSU holds sacred the working people's trust and constantly strengthens its ties with the masses. The people have seen for themselves in practice that, given any turn of events and under any trials, our party remains a match for its historic missions."

Communists and all Soviet people share this thesis with their mind and heart and are ready to prove it by their selfless labor in the name of fulfilling the plans for communist creation outlined by the party and in the name of the further flowering of their socialist motherland.

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FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE ON EARTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 16-30

[Article by A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs]

[Text] Our people, all the forces of peace and progress are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The establishment of the USSR was a historic event in the life of the Soviet people. It was also an event of immense international significance, a major milestone in the struggle of the toiling masses for revolutionary renovation of the world. The entire history of the USSR convincingly shows what peaks of true equality, monolithic cohesion, and fraternal friendship can be reached by relations among the peoples, based on the principle of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The fraternal union of the equal socialist republics, which emerged 6 decades ago--on 30 December 1922--as a result of the expression of the will of our country's peoples, strengthened even further the international positions of the Soviet state created by the Great October Revolution, and enhanced its authority on the world scene. The necessity for this stable state union was dictated by the objective course of social development, by the tasks of building a new society.

The path traversed by the Soviet state is marked by the outstanding accomplishments in all the directions of socialist and communist construction. Soviet foreign policy, the guidelines and fundamental principles of which were evolved and laid into the foundation of the Soviet state's international activity by V. I. Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution, also deserves great credit for this.

Soviet foreign policy has absorbed the best democratic traditions which took shape up during the long history in relations among the peoples and states. At the same time, the character of this policy logically ensues from the very essence of the socialist system which, as has been convincingly confirmed by life, gives birth to altogether new international relations free of the discrimination, domination and subordination that characterized preceding social and economic structures.

The path which the Soviet Union has traversed over the past 60 years was not simple and smooth. The CPSU and the Soviet state pursue their political line in a complicated international situation. Nevertheless the USSR has consistently advanced following the charted course, confident that it has made a correct choice.

I

The shaping of Soviet foreign policy was determined by the historical circumstances of its emergence on the borderline between two epochs--mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. With the emergence of a new social system as a result of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, no tendencies of the world's development could any longer remain uninfluenced by this mighty revolutionary-transforming factor. Since that time the ideas and practice of socialism have influenced every country or group of countries, and every ideological-political trend. "...From the very beginning of the October Revolution," Lenin wrote, "foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 28, p 151). The task of ensuring the necessary international conditions for consolidation of the revolutionary gains and for establishment of normal, friendly relations with other countries and peoples acquired paramount importance.

On 26 October and 8 November, 1917, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted the Decree on Peace which was the first foreign-policy act of the Soviet state. In this decree the Soviet government called upon all the peoples and governments of belligerent countries to end the world war, and to conclude a just, democratic peace. In the Decree on Peace the Soviet state declared proletarian internationalism in relations with the peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism, and peaceful coexistence in relations with the capitalist states, to be the principles of its foreign policy. Operating simultaneously and in interconnection, these principles constantly determine the essence of the international line of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of Soviet power, and its first powerful impulses toward peace found broad-based support among the working masses in many countries.

The reaction of the imperialist circles was altogether different. It was the result of the class instinct, the desire to hamper the revolutionary process, and narrow-mindedness in understanding the objective laws of historical development. The Soviet state displayed its readiness to start negotiations with the capitalist states and to conclude equal treaties, but encountered a wall of alienation and hostile conspiracies. The imperialist powers launched an armed intervention against it. History has shown that this course of imperialism was its first major strategic error in relations with the Soviet state.

The peoples of the Soviet state withstood with honor the ordeals forced upon them by the imperialists, having rebuffed the onslaught of the interventionists and the forces of internal counterrevolution. Our state strengthened its international positions consistently, step by step, working for and

achieving the establishment of new and truly equal relations with foreign states. Relations between Soviet Russia and the countries of the East developed successfully. Equal treaties with our southern neighbors--Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkey--were concluded in 1921. November 1921 saw the signing of an agreement with Mongolia, an agreement which laid a stable foundation of friendship between the peoples of the two countries. Peace treaties were also concluded with Finland (1920) and Poland (1921). A treaty with Germany was signed in Rapallo, Italy, in April 1922. It dealt a serious blow at the imperialist policy of isolating Soviet Russia.

In 1922 the Soviet state took part in its first international conference which was held in Genoa. Lenin formulated our political platform for that conference with utmost clarity: ensuring stable peace and economic cooperation among peoples, and establishing trade relations between the Soviet state and the capitalist countries. It is also deeply symbolic that at the Genoa conference our country raised in practice for the first time ever the question of a universal arms reduction.

After the formation of the USSR--the world's first unified, federal, multinational state of workers and peasants, the party and the government launched wide activities in the international arena on many levels. The growth of our country's international prestige resulted in the breakthrough of the diplomatic blockade, when the bourgeois states had to officially recognize the Soviet Union. In 1924-25, 13 states, among them Britain, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden, Austria, China, Japan and Mexico, established diplomatic relations with the USSR. During that period the Soviet Union concluded a number of important trade treaties with the capitalist countries. In this way a ramified structure of the USSR's political and economic relations with the outer world began to take shape.

Starting with the late 1920s the development of the Soviet state and the shaping of its international relations took place in the context of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. In the early 1930s, the sharp heightening of imperialist antagonisms led to the emergence of dangerous hotbeds of war first in Asia, where the Japanese militarists launched an aggression against China, and then in the heart of Europe as a result of the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The Soviet Union did everything possible to curb the aggressors. Our country gave active assistance to the peoples of China, Spain and other countries which became victims of foreign intervention. A befitting rebuff was given to the Japanese militarists in the Lake Khasan area and on the Khalkhin Gol River.

A broad peace program based on the concept of collective defense was the proposal advanced by the USSR in those years for establishing an effective system of collective security in Europe and concluding a regional Pacific pact. Our country also bent its efforts toward signing individual mutual help agreements with capitalist states for joint rebuff to the most dangerous aggressor--Hitler Germany.

But the obstructionist policy of these states prevented the erection of a firm shield from the impending Nazi threat at that time. The Western countries' ruling circles struck a deal with Hitler at Munich, hoping to channel fascist aggression eastward, against the Soviet Union. The peoples of Britain, France and other West European countries had to pay a high price for that short-sighted policy. Events took a turn in which those who had helped to restore the positions of German monopoly capital and revive militarism in Germany and who incited the Hitlerite aggressors against the USSR, were themselves subjected to their attack in the first place.

As for the general plan to let the German Nazis destroy the Soviet Union, this was another major strategic error of the imperialist forces in the evaluation of the strength and viability of the socialist system and the might of the Soviet state.

Life eventually forced the ruling circles of the Western powers to cooperate with the USSR. Within the antifascist coalition, our country organized broad political, military and other cooperation with the other members of the coalition to ensure victory over the common enemy and prepare a postwar peaceful settlement.

The coalition of states and peoples that defeated the bloc of aggressive powers--Germany, Japan and their allies in World War II--was a new event in international relations. In the great battle against fascism, which tried to impose the order of the vandals and hangmen on the world, the peoples of countries with differing social systems fought shoulder to shoulder. The cooperation of the participants of this alliance was quite logical and had an enormous progressive significance for all mankind.

The victory over Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan was not easy. But the Soviet people, who made a decisive contribution to this victory, successfully defended their socialist homeland and fulfilled their international duty. The defeat of Nazi Germany and its satellites had a tremendous impact on the further course of world events. The peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic and the peoples of China, Vietnam and North Korea acquired the opportunity to choose the socialist road of development. From then on the capitalist encirclement was broken once and for all. A community of socialist states appeared on the international scene. The world socialist system came into being.

The positions of progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces grew stronger throughout the world; the prestige and political influence of communist parties increased everywhere. The workers' movement in the capitalist countries achieved considerable successes.

The peoples of colonies and dependent countries launched an active struggle for their liberation. The period of the disintegration of colonial empires set in, and young sovereign states of Africa, Asia and Latin America began to appear on their ruins. Most of these states became the allies of the socialist countries in the struggle for peace, freedom and national independence.

"In the course of the 20th century," stressed L. I. Brezhnev, "our country twice stood at the origins of major changes in the face of the world.

"Such was the case in 1917 when the victory of the October Revolution heralded mankind's entry into a new historical epoch. Such was the case in 1945 when the defeat of fascism, the decisive part in which was played by the Soviet Union, raised a powerful wave of social and political changes that swept across the planet and led to a strengthening of peace forces in the world."

In the postwar years objective conditions arose for broader and more stable cooperation among countries, regardless of differences in their social systems, in the name of safeguarding durable peace. They reflected the strong desire of the peoples of the world to prevent a repetition of the tragedy that mankind had gone through as a result of the aggression unleashed by German fascism and militaristic Japan. However, through the fault of the forces of imperialism, above all the United States, these conditions were not taken advantage of. Moreover, the cold war started by the U.S. imperialist circles, accompanied by the arms race, especially in terms of nuclear arms, and local conflicts now in one area of the world or another, led to a grave complication of international relations.

Everything indicated that imperialist circles had not drawn the proper conclusions from the lessons of history. Their attempts to place obstacles in the way of the development and consolidation of the world socialist system and the growth of the national liberation and revolutionary movements were their second major strategic error in assessing the world alignment of forces and in approaching the shaping of their relations with our country and its allies and friends.

In the face of the imperialist powers' fomenting of international tension, whipping up the arms race and creating the aggressive NATO bloc and other military alliances under the aegis of these powers, the Soviet Union and other socialist states were compelled to take the necessary steps to strengthen their defense capability. At the same time, the USSR even in the period of the cold war consistently advocated a healthier international climate and demanded a dismantling of the military bases on foreign territories that were created, primarily by the United States, in dozens of countries, and were directed against the Soviet Union.

In the 1950s and the 1960s our country continued its indefatigable campaign to promote peace and international cooperation, to counter the imperialist policy of suppressing the sovereignty of nations, to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament and, above all, to ensure the prohibition of nuclear weapons. These efforts brought about a number of significant achievements. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was concluded in 1963. In 1968, on the USSR's initiative, another important international document, the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, was signed. Representatives of more than 100 countries affixed their signatures to both these treaties.

Great political response in the world was evoked by the Soviet proposal submitted to the UN in 1960 for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples; this initiative marked an important contribution to the struggle for national and social liberation. Drawn up in the spirit of Soviet proposals and solemnly adopted by the UN, the declaration on this question gave a powerful impetus to the decolonization process. A considerable number of new independent states appeared. This was a historic achievement in the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for freedom and national sovereignty. The great service of our socialist state, which urgently raised in the UN the question of putting an end to the disgraceful colonial system, will never fade.

It took the ruling circles of the Western powers a lot of time to realize that their attempts to retard the onward march of the USSR and the socialist world as a whole failed to produce the desired results. They became ever more convinced that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, surmounting the obstacles and difficulties on their way, continued to confidently move ahead, building up their economic potential, strengthening their defensive might and improving their international ties in many fields.

II

By the beginning of the 1970s the change in the international situation in favor of the forces of peace, democracy, national and social progress had become obvious.

The more far-sighted and realistically minded bourgeois statesmen and political leaders, who could not ignore this process, were coming to realize better that there neither was nor could there be any reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence with the socialist states.

Under the circumstances, the policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation, which had been consistently pursued by the Soviet Union since Lenin's time, was meeting the vigorous support of the public at large and a growing understanding in the leading circles of the capitalist countries.

This largely enhanced the normalizing of relations between the USSR and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and a number of capitalist states, on the other, in the 1970s, and eventually facilitated a turn from the cold war to the development of detente and the consolidation of the foundations of universal peace. "International detente has become possible," noted Leonid Brezhnev, "because a new alignment of forces took shape in the international arena. The leaders of the bourgeois world can no longer seriously hope to solve the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism by force of arms."

Taking into account all factors in the development of the international situation, the CPSU drew the scientifically sound conclusion about the emergence of objective opportunities for a radical improvement in the world's political climate, and for the remodeling of the entire system of intergovernmental relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Confident that it was possible to build a solid edifice of peace, and profoundly interested in this, our country advanced a broad set of measures covering all areas of the struggle for peace, freedom and independence of nations. Taken in their totality, these measures were set forth in the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU (1971). The program contained concrete and realistic proposals on the solution of the most pressing problems pertaining to the task of strengthening peace and developing peaceful cooperation among states.

A major positive shift took place in Soviet-American relations, which began to acquire a new content. The two sides held summit and many other meetings and talks, primarily concerning the problems of nuclear missile weapons and their limitation. A document on the foundations of mutual relations between the USSR and the United States was signed in May 1972. It sealed the commitment of both sides to proceed from the common conviction that in the nuclear age there was no foundation for maintaining bilateral relations other than peaceful coexistence. The two sides concluded a Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Antiballistic Missile Systems (1972), and an interim agreement on certain measures in the field of limiting strategic offensive weapons --SALT I (1972), an Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War (1973) and a number of other agreements covering various spheres of bilateral cooperation.

Positive shifts took place in Europe under the impact of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. A series of treaties were concluded which brought international relations in Europe in line with the realities of its postwar development. Relations between the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the GDR, on the one hand, and West Germany, on the other, were normalized on the basis of corresponding treaties, and a quadripartite agreement on West Berlin was signed. The GDR received broad international recognition. The Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe were initiated.

The Conference on European Security and Cooperation became an event of exceptional importance. It reaffirmed the inviolability of postwar frontiers, drafted a code of principles governing the interrelations of 35 participating states, and mapped out the prospects of peaceful long-term cooperation among them.

Imperialist aggression in Indochina ended in the same period as well. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea managed to score major successes in their national liberation struggle. The revolution triumphed in Ethiopia. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and a number of other countries gained independence as a result of the collapse of the last, Portuguese colonial empire.

The Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Freedom and Independence of Nations (1976) adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress became an organic continuation and development of the Peace Program. The congress put at the top of the list of foreign policy priorities bridling the arms race and converting to real disarmament, asserting the principle of

the nonuse of force in the practice of international relations, and concentrating the efforts of peace-loving states on the elimination of the hotbeds of war in different parts of the globe.

The tackling of these tasks encountered fierce resistance on the part of the more aggressive imperialist quarters. The confrontation between the two opposing courses in world politics became markedly exacerbated by the end of the 1970s. In these conditions, the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries continued to further the cause of detente, displaying the necessary vigilance and giving a befitting rebuff to the intrigues of aggressive forces.

International relations in this period were marked by several positive actions of considerable importance. They include the conclusion of the Soviet-French Agreement on the Prevention of an Accidental or Unsanctioned Use of Nuclear Weapons (1976), the signing of the Soviet-British Agreement on the Prevention of an Accidental Nuclear War (1977), the enactment of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and Their Destruction (1975), and the conclusion of the International Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (1977).

Special mention should be made of the signing in 1979 of the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive armaments (SALT II), which could become an effective obstacle in the way of further accumulation of the most destructive and costly types of weapons. One may say that the whole world was looking forward to its enactment. Washington, however, chose another road--that of frustrating its ratification.

The changes in the world arena which took place in the 1970s, especially in their first half, reaffirmed that differences in social system, ideology or world outlook are not an insurmountable obstacle for states to maintain normal, constructive ties which facilitate the positive development of the world situation in the common interests. Detente is a unique phenomenon in international relations. It expresses the fundamental aspirations of the peoples in the Soviet Union and all other states, and reflects their will for peace. So, all countries should display concern and the utmost responsibility for detente, and show their understanding of the fact that detente guarantees man's overriding right--the right to live.

This is precisely what the Soviet Union does, overcoming in its work for detente and peaceful coexistence the obstacles of bias, mistrust and hostility erected by certain forces in the West. The Soviet Union is doing all it can to contribute by practical action to the curbing of the arms race, and to the strengthening of security on the basis of promoting mutual understanding and the development of peaceful international cooperation.

III

The Leninist strategy of peace, upheld by our party and state, has had to be implemented in the context of a strained international situation in the early 1980s. This situation has been aggravated, first and foremost, by the action of the most aggressive forces of imperialism, above all, of the United States, which has launched an attempt at antidetente and against achievements in strengthening the positions of socialism, in advancing the national liberation movement and in promoting peace by its own policy of stepping up military preparations, interfering in the internal affairs of other peoples, and whipping up international tensions.

The imperialist forces, bent on upsetting the present military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and between the United States and the USSR, to their own advantage, have launched an unprecedented arms buildup. They have been putting forward, one after another, their aggressive doctrines for the prosecution of nuclear wars--quick and protracted, limited and general. Besides, they have declared vast areas of the world to be a "sphere of vital U.S. interests."

Imperial ambitions show themselves in the increasingly gross intervention in the affairs of other nations and peoples, the fanning of the hotbeds of tension and conflicts, and proliferating acts of self-will in international affairs. This policy has been particularly manifest in the Middle East, where it means encouraging and directly backing Israel's aggression against Arab countries and peoples, making possible such acts as Tel Aviv's recent criminal action in Lebanon and genocide against the Palestinians.

In the prevailing circumstances, the Soviet Union continues to make unflagging efforts and to use its full political and moral potential to forestall the further deterioration of the international situation and to preserve peace on Earth. Realistic ways towards lessening the threat of war, promoting detente and developing broad cooperation among nations with differing social systems have been indicated by the Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress. It was summed up in the CPSU Central Committee's report to the congress as follows: "To safeguard peace--no task is more important now on the international plane for our party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world." This document is a direct follow-up to, and a creative elaboration of, the foreign policy programs of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses as applied to the most crucial and the most pressing problems of international affairs today. The Peace Program for the 1980s, supplemented since the congress with new initiatives, is a wide range of interconnected constructive measures covering both nuclear and conventional weapons and relating to the situation in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. These are political and military measures. All of these proposals have a single goal and common ambition--to do everything possible to save the nations from the threat of nuclear war.

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that there are potent forces in action to safeguard peace, that greatest value of common interest to humanity. The struggle for the noble ideals of peace today is a joint effort of the

countries of the socialist community, and the international communist, worker and national liberation movements.

The high tide of antiwar movement is mounting everywhere today. This movement, represented both by large-scale spontaneous action by the masses and conscious activities of various political parties and organizations, has become so tangible a factor and assumed so wide a scale as to be producing a telling effect on the international situation. This cannot be ignored even in capitals where the official quarters are still dominated by militarist trends and obsessed with the policy from "a position of strength."

The Soviet Union also considers that the potential of detente is far from being used up. Detente retains its power of attraction and it is necessary for this process to continue. Many of the most far-sighted political spokesmen in the Western countries have also been speaking out in its favor.

The Soviet Union, unshakeably convinced of the historical justice of the forces of peace and certain of their selfless readiness to do everything to bar the way to warlike ventures, is pressing for the implementation of the Peace Program for the 1980s, which has been winning the understanding and support of all peace-seeking nations and antiwar forces.

Acting as they do as the leading factor in the battle to keep the peace, the members of the socialist community have been helping to resolve a problem of worldwide importance, indeed. At the same time, they are doing everything within their power to bring about an indispensable external environment for successful construction of the new type of society. The socialist community links its present and future up with peaceful development.

Close cooperation among the sister nations in the furtherance of the cause of peace and socialism is a clear manifestation of the life-asserting force of the new type of relationship among nations--sovereign and equal, welded together by common basic interests and priorities and Marxist-Leninist ideology, and united by the bond of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance and all-round cooperation.

The countries forming the socialist community keep drawing closer together. The 26th CPSU Congress declared the continued deepening of socialist integration under long-term goal-oriented programs to be a top priority. They are to help resolve the most urgent and vitally important problems of their national economies. These programs are now being translated into practice. The object is to make the next two five-year plans a period of intensive industrial, scientific and technological cooperation among socialist countries. Another one is to complement plan coordination with their own economic policies in general. Steady headway is being made in improving bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the ideological, scientific and cultural areas.

"Experience indicates," said the CPSU Central Committee in its Resolution on the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, "that loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist

internationalism and close cooperation among the fraternal parties in every area make it possible to combine properly the common and individual national interests of the socialist states, successfully to resolve the contradictions and difficulties arising in the course of this development, and for every nation and for the entire socialist community to advance confidently. CEMA and the Warsaw Pact are dependably serving this purpose."

The early 1980s have witnessed an unprecedented hostile campaign organized by certain Western quarters against the socialist countries. There has been a lot of provocative sabre-rattling and attempts at exercising political pressure as well as subversive acts and ideological subversion. Washington is not giving up its plans to launch what actually amounts to a trade and economic war against the socialist community, although it has come to grief more than once in this enterprise.

The USSR and other socialist countries have no intention of fencing themselves off from mutually beneficial links, including economic links, with capitalist states. But they cannot, naturally, fail to draw appropriate conclusions for themselves in the face of all manner of maneuverings by those who resort to a policy of sanctions and boycott and attempts at interfering in internal affairs.

Life has repeatedly proved the total futility of the hopes to make the socialist states depart from the principles of their peace-building foreign policy, complicate the solution of the economic and social problems they face and shatter the foundations of their social system. Any attempt at interfering in the affairs of these countries, dividing or pushing them off their peace course are as foredoomed as they have always been. There are all indications that the imperialist forces resorting to such stratagems in their policies are making yet another blunder in their relations with the socialist countries.

Now as to our relations with a socialist country, such as the People's Republic of China. The improvement of such relations could improve peace in Asia and elsewhere. The Soviet Union is prepared to do and is doing everything for these relations to develop favorably and return to normalcy. We see that of late the PRC has positively responded to this approach of ours.

As before, the strategy of Soviet foreign policy, underlying the Peace Program for the 1980s, remains curbing the arms race, promoting disarmament, and averting the danger of a new war.

The Soviet Union has declared more than once that there is no type of weapons which it would not be prepared to limit or reduce on a reciprocal basis. The fact that the stockpiling of weapons continues and is even intensified, the rates of the arms race exceed the curbs clamped on them by the relevant accords, and the existing agreements in this field are questioned, is a direct result of the militaristic course of the NATO bloc.

The USSR confirms by deeds its consistent principled policy in this direction. This country's unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear

weapons is an act of historic importance. Indeed, this means facilitating a turn from the dangers of the nuclear age to a safer and more lasting peace and hindering the intrigues of those who are trying "to accustom" mankind to the idea of a nuclear conflict as admissible and even acceptable.

We call on all nuclear powers, which have not yet done this, to assume such a commitment. This would help considerably to lessen the danger of a nuclear war outbreak.

The Soviet Union stands for all countries to undertake not to use force or threat of force in relations between them in general. To set the question on a practical footing, in 1976 this country proposed concluding a world treaty on the nonuse of force in international relations. The relevant draft treaty was submitted for the consideration of the United Nations. The great majority of the UN member-states met this initiative with understanding and approval. We intend to work further for its implementation.

At the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, the Soviet Union put forward a comprehensive program of measures aimed at curbing the arms race. This program generalizes both the positions of principle of this country and its main specific proposals. They cover all major aspects of limiting the arms race and promoting disarmament, from nuclear and chemical weapons to conventional arms and the naval activities of states. This program was favorably received by the overwhelming majority of UN member-states.

The Soviet Union exerted great efforts to start talks with the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. Soviet and American representatives are currently meeting at the negotiating table in Geneva. This is a positive fact. However, we cannot fail to note that our partners do not yet show the desire to come to terms.

The United States' approach betrays its obvious desire to win concessions from the Soviet Union to the detriment of the latter's security interests. One cannot otherwise assess the fact that out of the strategic arsenals of the USSR and of the United States, Washington arbitrarily snatches only the ground-based missiles, which make up the backbone of this country's strategic potential, and proposes cutting them down. As for the hardware in which the United States enjoys preponderance--missiles carried by submarines, strategic bombers, and cruise missiles--America would like to leave them outside the negotiations. With things standing as they are, it is difficult, of course, to count on progress in the negotiations.

Soviet-U.S. negotiations to limit nuclear arms in Europe are also under way in Geneva. However, here too, the United States displays a lopsided approach. It suggests that the Soviet Union scrap its ground-based missiles, including those we have commanded for over 20 years. As for NATO's medium-range nuclear potential, America believes that it should be preserved and even increased. The bias and illogicality of such a stand are obvious and the Soviet Union cannot, naturally, agree with it. At these negotiations the Soviet Union is submitting proposals leading to mutually acceptable accords.

The Soviet Union backs its sincere desire to limit nuclear arms in Europe and to continue the relevant negotiations also by appropriate unilateral measures. We have stopped the further deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the country. Furthermore, the USSR is cutting down some of these weapons and is not installing any more medium-range missiles capable of reaching Western Europe east of the Urals.

On the whole, the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva proceed with difficulty because of the obstacles regularly created by Washington's position. Clearly feigned are attempts to present the situation at the negotiations in rosy color. Judging by everything, such "optimism" is designed to confuse world public opinion, calm down the allies concerned over the prospects of said negotiations, and gain time to implement militaristic plans.

The Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe continue to mark time. At these negotiations too, the difficulty is in the unwillingness of our Western partners to come to terms on a just and equitable basis.

We firmly believe that the main principle of the negotiations to limit the arms race and promote disarmament should be one of equality and equal security, from which the Soviet Union will not depart.

Were our partners to accept this basic principle, the negotiations would proceed confidently. However, negotiations used to camouflage further military beefing up would further complicate the situation. Foul play should have no place here. Neither side should seek advantage to the detriment of the security of its opposite number. This should be the real logic of the talks on very serious problems affecting the destinies of world peace.

I also want to make it clear that this country, proceeding from the existing military equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, between the United States and the Soviet Union, is not after military preponderance either in Europe or globally. However, we shall not recognize the right of others to military supremacy either. It is also clear that it is necessary to lower the high level of today's equilibrium. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to this effect, although, understandably, not everything depends on us.

If the Madrid meeting of the states which participated in the European conference were to decide to call a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe, this would be of great importance for strengthening security on the continent. Such a decision would become a new and powerful impetus to the development of the all-European process started by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Union resolutely stands for progress in this process; to this end, this country is doing everything it can to ensure the successful completion of the Madrid meeting.

Great importance would also attach to the implementation of the latest initiative by the socialist comity, of its proposal to the effect that the leading bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact should agree not to extend the sphere of action of these alliances to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At the 37th UN General Assembly session, the Soviet Union came out with a major initiative by proposing to put on the UN's agenda the question of the immediate cessation and banning of nuclear weapons tests. The basic provisions of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests were also submitted for the consideration of the assembly. This document records all positive steps that have been achieved in the course of many years of discussing a ban on nuclear weapons tests, and reflects the additional considerations of many states, particularly as regards control over the observance of such a future treaty. The complete ending of nuclear weapons tests would erect a serious obstacle to the development of new types and systems of nuclear weaponry and the emergence of new nuclear powers.

In order to block another channel of nuclear danger, the USSR also proposes putting the question of multiplying efforts to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and to ensure the safe development of nuclear energy on the agenda of the 37th UN General Assembly. We suggested that the General Assembly should declare the destruction of peaceful nuclear projects even by means of conventional weapons tantamount to an attack with nuclear weapons, i.e., that it should identify it with the actions which the United Nations has qualified as the gravest crime against mankind.

It was stressed in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress that in recent years military conflicts have broken out now in one, now in another region of the world, frequently threatening to grow into a big fire; that putting them out was anything but easy; and that it was necessary to prevent the emergence of hotbeds of such conflicts. Promoting the solution of conflict situations is a major line in our policy. In tackling this task, the USSR acts under the Peace Program for the 1980s and complements it with new initiatives.

The Soviet Union is far from displaying a simplistic and dogmatic approach to conflict situations. However, it has become axiomatic that whenever a serious hotbed of tension appears in one region or another it is traced to the imperialist ways of those who disregard the legitimate interests of other countries and peoples and try to interfere in their domestic affairs and force their will on them. This policy is conducted by the U.S. ruling quarters, which are deliberately steering towards the aggravation of the situation in a number of areas of the world. A "rapid deployment force," to discharge obvious police functions, has been formed. As a result, dangerous conflict situations and "hot points" arise in various parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East, the South Atlantic, Central America and the Caribbean.

Israel's intervention in Lebanon serves as an example of the tragic consequences of the imperialist policy of retaining its positions by force. There is no denying the fact that Israel risked the aggression because it has a "strategic consensus" with the United States. Although in Lebanon Israel and its patrons suffered a serious political and moral defeat, the breeding ground of tension they created there continues to pose a grave threat. The situation is fraught with new conflicts.

The statements made by the U.S. administration on the Middle East settlement leave no doubt about Washington's continued opposition to an independent Palestinian state. Flouting the UN resolutions, the United States ignores the Palestine Liberation Organization as an indispensable participant in the settlement process, studiously omits any mention of the problem of Israel's pullout from all occupied Arab territories and is preoccupied with the security of only one Middle East state, Israel, to the exclusion of the other states and peoples of the region. Nor is there any doubt that the United States is seeking to play a decisive role in Middle East affairs.

The experience of the past few years proves that U.S. policy, predicated upon the Camp David separate deal, neither has brought nor could bring about a settlement in the Middle East. Moreover, it further complicated the situation in the region. Now Washington is trying once again to prevent a genuine settlement of the Middle East problem.

The Soviet Union is firmly at one with the Arab peoples. Israel must get out of Lebanon and return to the Arabs all the Arab land it seized. The principles of the Middle East settlement formulated by the Soviet Union are of special importance given the current situation. These include the strict observance of the principle of inadmissibility of the seizure of foreign lands by aggression; the implementation of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to create an independent state on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip; the return to the Arabs of the eastern sector of Jerusalem; ensuring the right of all countries in the Middle East to safe and independent existence and development, ending the state of war and making peace between the Arab states and Israel; and international guarantees of such a settlement. This could be achieved through the collective efforts of all the sides concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. An international conference is the best way of working out decisions leading to a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Soviet position on the Middle East settlement is consistent with the view expressed recently at the Arab summit meeting at Fez.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq is also fraught with grave consequences. The Soviet Union is convinced that the bloody war which has been going on for more than 2 years is senseless from the point of view of the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries. It only plays into the hands of the imperialist forces.

The situation around Afghanistan, that is, understandably, the external aspects of the problem, also remains unsettled. The reasons for this are clear: the enemies of the Afghan people keep trying to prevent the building of a new, truly democratic life in that country, interfering in its internal affairs and conducting armed intervention from the outside against Afghanistan, a sovereign nonaligned state. A realistic opportunity to ensure a political settlement on Afghanistan is provided by the well-known proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union fully supports them. The main condition for a full settlement is the cessation of armed intervention from the outside. The Soviet Union looks favorably on the contacts established in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which are now exchanging views on the problem.

The Soviet Union is in favor of the plan to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace and stability. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have chosen their way of social development and the forces that are trying to prevent them from deciding their destiny themselves are running against the spirit of the time and the objective laws of history. The proposals made by the three countries of Indochina to promote dialogue and improve their relations with the neighboring countries open up new opportunities for bringing about substantial changes for the better in the situation in Southeast Asia.

The strengthening of international security in Asia is facilitated by the peace-loving foreign policy pursued by India, a great Asian country. We are bound with that country by the ties of close friendship and fruitful cooperation and the common cause of safeguarding peace and freedom of the peoples.

In the south of Africa, with the connivance of the United States and other Western powers, the racist regime of South Africa is waging an undeclared war against Angola and some other states. It ignores the UN decisions on granting independence to Namibia. A breeding ground of tension remains in that region as a result. The aggressive actions against the newly independent countries in the south of Africa must be halted. The people of Namibia must be given the right to free existence in an independent state of their own.

The Soviet Union believes that urgent international problems can and must be solved peacefully at the negotiating table. The Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate, on a constructive and reciprocal basis, with all countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle for peace, the improvement of the situation and the development of normal and good relations between states.

The same applies to the Soviet policy vis-a-vis the United States. We are not to blame for the current tension in relations with the United States. The Soviet Union continues to believe that our relations with the United States can be normalized and bettered on the basis of peaceful coexistence, provided, of course, that Washington is prepared to go along. We hope that common sense will eventually prevail in Washington.

The Soviet Union's activities in the international arena have always been the focus of attention of the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Politburo which formulate and direct the Soviet foreign policy on the basis of an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, taking into account the alignment of forces in the world and the laws and factors that determine the main trends and prospects of the world's development. This ensures the effectiveness and continuity in the implementation of the tasks that face the party and the country in international affairs.

"Soviet foreign policy has been and continues to be determined by the decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses," Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said in his address at the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "The invariable aims of our foreign policy are to ensure a lasting peace and to defend the right of the peoples

to independence and social progress. In the struggle for these aims the leadership of the party and the state will be acting consistently and thoughtfully in line with its principles." That statement was made with a full sense of responsibility and at the most authoritative level.

The Leninist line of Soviet foreign policy is unanimously approved and supported by all Soviet communists and the Soviet people as a whole.

The recent celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the USSR once again demonstrated the unity of the Soviet people. They also showed that all Soviet citizens, regardless of their nationality or occupation, hold dear the interests of their country and its future.

The Soviet Union celebrated its anniversary by new achievements in all sectors of communist construction. The party's Leninist nationalities policy, the turning in a short space of time of Russia's erstwhile backward provinces into flowering socialist republics and the establishment of equitable relations among Soviet nations, big and small, have become an inspiring example in the struggle of the peoples for national independence and their sovereign right to choose their social and political systems themselves.

Sixty years after its founding the Soviet Union appears to the world as a peace-loving socialist state, an integral part of the community of the socialist nations and a great world power without which no major international problem can be solved.

In celebrating this anniversary the peace-loving Soviet people justly take pride in the great authority their country commands in the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace among nations. Relying on its economic and defense potential, the Soviet Union will continue to do everything to ensure effective defense for the work and peaceful life of Soviet people and our friends in the socialist countries.

"In the complicated international situation when the forces of imperialism are trying to push the peoples onto the road of hostility and military confrontation, the party and the state will firmly uphold the vital interests of our homeland and maintain great vigilance and readiness to give a crushing rebuff to any attempt at aggression," Yuriy Andropov said. "They will redouble their efforts in the struggle for the security of the peoples and strengthen cooperation with all the peace forces in the world. We are always ready for honest, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation with any country that is willing to cooperate."

The peoples fighting against the threat of nuclear war and all the champions of peace and socialism are looking to our country with confidence and hope. Much credit for the authority which the Soviet Union commands today goes to its peaceful foreign policy.

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CSO: 1802/6

MARCHING TOGETHER TO A COMMON GOAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 31-39

[Article by R. Nabiyev, Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee]

[Text] The multinational Soviet people, the working people in the fraternal socialist countries and all progressive mankind are preparing solemnly to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. This noteworthy event in the life of the land of the soviets will become another vivid demonstration of the greatness of the communist ideals--the ideals of social justice, unbreakable friendship among nations, their international unity and the permanent invincible power of Lenin's doctrine. It will demonstrate the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet republics in laying the material and technical foundations for communism.

Six decades have passed since the memorable historical day--30 December 1922 --when the creation of a multinational socialist state of workers and peasants was proclaimed. During that period our country and all its nations and nationalities have covered a distance equaling centuries in a state of fraternal unity.

Radical revolutionary changes have been made in all areas of material, sociopolitical and spiritual life. A developed socialist society has been built.

The stipulations of the CPSU on the all-round multiplication of the material and spiritual potential of the country and the strengthening of its economic and defense power are being successfully implemented.

The scale of our accomplishments has expanded even further at the developed socialist stage. They strike even the most daring imaginations. These years have reasserted the correctness of the party's course and its economic and sociopolitical strategy.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" emphasizes that "history is unfamiliar with any other case in which a state would do so much within such a short time to ensure the comprehensive development of nations and nationalities as has been accomplished by the USSR--the socialist fatherland of all our nations.... The past 60 years have been noted by the headlong socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union."

V. I. Lenin stood beside the cradle of the Soviet multinational state. He guided the creation of the USSR wisely and far-sightedly. Lenin formulated the idea and substantiated the need for a voluntary and equal union of Soviet socialist republics as a superior form of federated proletarian state of a new type. "We want," he pointed out, "a voluntary union of nations, the type of union which would allow no coercion on the part of one nation over another, an alliance based on total trust, clear awareness of fraternal unity and entirely voluntary accord" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 43).

This Leninist concept was successfully implemented. Soviet Tajikistan, like all fraternal union republics, has confirmed its accuracy and tremendous revolutionary-transforming power clearly and convincingly.

We know that anything becomes clear on the basis of comparison. Indeed, the successes and accomplishments of the Tajik people under the Soviet system become particularly convincing and impressive if we recall our starting point and the insignificant inheritance which czarist Russia and the Bukhara Emirate had left the republic.

Before the revolution the Tajik people were artificially split. They had no statehood and, like the other national outlying areas, Tajikistan was essentially a semicolony of czarism and the Russian bourgeoisie, an agrarian-raw material appendage to the central industrial areas. It presented a picture of extreme economic and cultural backwardness. Its northern areas had no more than a few small semiartisan types of plants employing several hundred workers and two small ore-mining enterprises--a mine in Shurabe and the SANTO oil field. Small craft shops could be found on the rest of the territory.

Farming was based on a system of bartering or semibartering. The most primitive equipment was used. The peasant's tools were the ketmen' (hoe), omach (wooden plow) and mola (harrow). Most peasant farms had no draft cattle. Manual labor was ubiquitous.

In the Bukhara Emirate 85 percent of the good land, about 70 percent of the cattle and all water resources belonged to the emir, the bays, the officials and the clergy.

The peasants, who accounted for about 90 percent of the area's population, paid more than 150 different taxes. At that time, as the working people used to say, the only tax-free thing was the air. The Tajik people were subjected to the triple oppression of czarism, the Russian bourgeoisie and the local feudal lords.

Cultural backwardness was added to the political rightlessness of the toiling masses and their cruel exploitation. The people, who were the heirs of an ancient, rich and original culture which had given the world a galaxy of outstanding scientists, philosophers and poets, were deprived of the right to even the most basic education. In Lenin's words, the toiling masses "were plundered in terms of education, enlightenment and knowledge..." (op. cit., vol 23, p 127).

It was only the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of a Soviet system and the implementation of Lenin's national policy that opened to the Tajik people the wide and bright horizons of national rebirth and economic and cultural progress.

The Great Lenin, who creatively developed the views of K. Marx and F. Engels, formulated an efficient doctrine on the national problem and an expanded program for its solution. The leader of the revolution constantly emphasized that the legal equality among nations and nationalities by itself is insufficient. The task of the victorious proletariat was to ensure the actual equality among all nations and nationalities and to help the population of the former outlying areas to catch up with the economically and culturally advanced central parts of the country. Lenin persistently emphasized the need to show exceptional sensitivity toward the peoples of the former colonial outlying areas of czarist Russia and true concern for the economic and cultural interests of the toiling masses.

These Leninist instructions were persistently and consistently implemented in all areas of socialist construction.

The example of the Tajik SSR, as that of the other union republics, proves clearly and convincingly that the most profound changes which were made here were the result of the joint efforts of all nations in the country and their close cooperation and mutual aid. The party's economic policy toward Tajikistan, as toward the other previously backward outlying areas of the former Russian Empire, was based on a strict consideration of national and economic factors, expedient and efficient use of capital investments and rational deployment of production forces.

During the prewar five-year plans the Tajik SSR lacked the necessary prerequisites and opportunities for industrialization, such as financial resources, cadres of industrial workers and specialists for the various economic sectors and a corresponding raw material base. The creation of modern industry in the republic was based on the aid of the fraternal peoples and on the material and technical foundations of the entire country and its most developed areas.

The aid which the republic received consisted of modern equipment and tools, the assigning of skilled workers and engineering and technical personnel, and the sharing of progressive production-technical and economic experience. Equipment came from Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Transcaucasus. Trucks, excavators, tractors, drilling systems, weaving looms, electric motors and equipment for metal-processing enterprises were shipped to the republic. This made economic relations between the Tajik SSR and the other parts of the country increasingly close and comprehensive.

The new projects which were built in the period of socialist industrialization became a real school of friendship among nations. Side by side with the Tajiki, Russians, Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Belorussians--members of many nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union--selflessly worked in the construction of plants and factories, laying railroads and highways, building

ore-mining enterprises, new irrigation systems and the first hydroelectric power plants.

Joint labor developed in the people feelings of reciprocal respect, friendship and international fraternity. The aid provided by the Russian and the other fraternal peoples played a decisive role in the development of a Tajik working class in the 1920s-1930s. This was of tremendous economic and sociopolitical significance.

In 60 years the republic's volume of industrial output increased by a factor of 889. Today, in a single year, its output is higher than that of all prewar five-year plans combined by a factor of 3.5.

To an increasing extent Tajikistan's industrial aspect is determined by power industry, nonferrous metallurgy, chemical industry and machine building, i.e., sectors which largely determine the pace of scientific and technical progress and the possibility that its achievements will be efficiently used.

In the period of developed socialism the republic is successfully resolving problems of comprehensive development of entire sectors and regions. This is exemplified by the establishment of the south Tajik territorial-production complex with its powerful energy base and large modern enterprises such as the Tajik Aluminum, Yavan Electrochemical and other plants, built in accordance with the party's stipulations. Today the south Tajik territorial-production complex accounts for one-sixth of the republic's industrial output.

Tajikistan will take new major steps in its industrial development during the 11th Five-Year Plan and through 1990. In particular, the construction of yet another hydroelectric power giant on the Vakhsh River has already been undertaken--the Rogunskaya GES, with a generating power of 3,600 kilowatts. The Baypazinskaya GES will be started in 1984.

Cooperation and mutual aid were among the decisive factors in the socialist reorganization of Tajik agriculture. The fraternal republics supplied this sector with modern tools and equipment and helped it with skilled agricultural specialists.

Workers-25,000ths and sponsor workers brigades from the central areas of the country, essentially consisting of textile workers from Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, who came to our republic, played a tremendous role in the organizational-economic strengthening of the kolkhozes. In turn, in the 1930s the kolkhoz peasantry of Soviet Tajikistan made a substantial contribution to the solution of a very important problem--the gaining of cotton independence by the Soviet Union, to use the expression of those times.

The reorganized Vakhsh valley became the main base of the country in the production of most valuable fine-staple cotton strains. Dozens of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and industrial enterprises were created in areas of previously impassable growth, marshes and swamps of 50 years ago.

Today the Vakhsh valley, which accounts for most of the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast, yields annually more than 400,000 tons of cotton, consisting essentially of fine-staple varieties, and considerable quantities of vegetables, fruits, grapes, citrus crops and animal husbandry products.

The republic will be celebrating the 50th anniversary of this heroic epic in 1983.

The entire nature of Tajik agriculture has changed. Where several decades ago our farmer was familiar with manual labor only, today some 33,000 tractors, 5,500 cotton and grain-harvesting combines and more than 20,000 trucks are at work in kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields. Since the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum alone more than 200,000 hectares of new land have been put under irrigation. Large animal husbandry complexes, poultry farms and interfarm organizations and associations have been created and are functioning. Extensive and comprehensive work is being done to promote agricultural production specialization and concentration.

The current volume of agricultural output exceeds the 1922 level by a factor of 14. Cotton production has increased from 0.6 thousand tons in 1922 to 906,000 tons on an annual average during the 10th Five-Year Plan; within the same period meat production increased by a factor of 4.5 and milk by a factor of 4.7. The implementation of the plans and socialist pledges for the 11th Five-Year Plan is adequate despite the fact that this past year has been exceptionally hard. This is the worst weather recorded ever since meteorological observations were organized in the republic. These difficulties were countered by the courage, willpower, organization and high skill which made possible the successful fulfillment of assignments on selling the state vegetables, potatoes, melon crops, grapes, wool, and silkworm cocoons. More cattle, poultry, milk and eggs were sold to the state compared with last year. Assignments on procuring most valuable fine-staple cotton strains were overfulfilled. More than 310,000 tons were sold to the state. The social program earmarked by the party is being implemented on a solid basis. Over the past 10 years alone real per capita income in the republic increased by a factor of 1.3.

More than 2 million square meters of housing, based on all sources of financing, have been constructed in cities and villages since the start of the current five-year plan. This exceeds by far the entire housing available in Tajikistan in 1940. In terms of comparable prices the volume of retail trade has increased by 8.1 percent. During the first 2 years of the five-year plan it totaled 5 billion rubles; in 1982 the volume of retail trade totaled 2.6 billion rubles, which exceeds the prewar level by a factor of 19.

The other fraternal republics gave the Tajik people extensive and comprehensive aid in carrying out its cultural revolution and developing modern science, art and literature. Most noted Soviet scientists organized Tajik science. The first physicians, teachers, printers, cinematographers and theater organizers came from the fraternal republics, the great Russian people above all.

It was precisely they who, generously and selflessly sharing their extremely rich knowledge, experience and skill, worked for the sake of today's blossoming of Tajik science, literature and art. One of the most outstanding manifestations of this aid was the following: although blockaded by the enemy, the printers in Leningrad did something seemingly impossible: they managed to print textbooks for the Tajik schools.

Currently the Tajik Academy of Sciences, Scientific Institutions and Higher Educational Establishments employs 7,400 scientific workers. The republic's scientists are engaged in complex studies on topical problems in the natural and social sciences ranging from plant protection to tracking satellites in outer space, from ensuring the seismic strength of insulation to forecasting earthquakes, from studying natural resources to creating new substances and from resolving applied problems to developing basic theoretical problems. Such is the range of studies being conducted by Tajik scientists today. The achievements of Tajik science have become famous far beyond the republic.

Tajik writers, painters, composers and cinematographers have created a number of highly idea-minded works which depict our Soviet reality vividly, from the positions of socialist realism, and educate the Soviet people in the spirit of the great ideas of communism, friendship among the peoples and internationalism. The works of our outstanding writers such as S. Ayni, A. Lakhuti, M. Tursun-zade, A. Dekhoti, A. Shukukhi, B. Rakhim-zade and others have become part of the treasury of Soviet multinational literature.

Many works of the theater, graphic, music and motion-picture arts in our sunny republic are enjoying great success in the land of the soviets. In this area where, prior to the victory of the October Revolution, there were virtually no printed organs or book publishing, there are today 73 republic, city, rayon and other newspapers, 69 journals and other periodicals. More than 700 book titles and pamphlets have been published and television and radio broadcasting have become widespread.

The Tajik Soviet culture is an organic, an inseparable part of the multinational Soviet culture. Its blossoming was largely determined by the permanent and constant contacts, reciprocal influence and reciprocal enrichment among the cultures of the Soviet peoples and, above all, the beneficial influence of Russian culture.

Having preserved and creatively enriched the progressive national features and characteristics of the cultural legacy of the past and having imbued the accomplishments of the cultures of the Russian and the other fraternal peoples, Tajik Soviet culture, in turn, is substantially influencing them. This is a natural phenomenon in the life of our multinational country.

The friendship among the peoples of the USSR, which was born in the struggle for the establishment and strengthening of the Soviet system and in the course of building socialism, strengthened and was tempered during the Great Patriotic War and became one of the main motive forces in the development of Soviet society. Today this friendship and the close and comprehensive cooperation among the peoples of our country cover all aspects of material and spiritual life.

Like that of all union republics, the Tajik economy is a structural component of the single national economic complex which includes all parts of public production, distribution and trade on USSR territory.

The national economic plans call for developing in Tajikistan particularly those economic sectors for which most favorable conditions exist. With every passing year the Tajik SSR is playing an increasingly noteworthy role in the all-union division of labor, shipping to various parts of the Soviet Union a variety of industrial and agricultural commodities.

They include cotton staple and silk fabrics, concentrates of nonferrous and rare metal ores, construction materials, aluminum, spinning machinery, various armatures and machine tools, household refrigerators, agricultural machinery, low-tension electrical equipment, power transformers, fresh and canned fruits and vegetables, and many other things.

In turn, Tajikistan receives from the other parts of the country electric motors, tractors, motor vehicles, chemical, hammer-press and lifting equipment, instruments, rolled ferrous metals, petroleum products, radiators and many other items.

The growing scale of industrial construction strengthens interrepublic relations even further. This is clearly seen in the history of the construction of the Nurekskaya GES, which was commissioned in 1979. This one-of-a-kind hydroelectric power plant, which generates 2.7 million kilowatts, is the largest in Central Asia.

The November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree naming the Nurekskaya GES after L. I. Brezhnev. The history of the building of this power giant is inseparably linked with his person. Leonid Il'ich followed the course of construction steadily and closely, visited Nurek and helped to resolve a number of most complex problems.

The construction, design and operational personnel, the Nurek population and all Tajik working people considered naming the GES after L. I. Brezhnev a high honor and trust which calls for assuming strict obligations. A large meeting was held in Nurek on this occasion.

In their letter to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, which was approved at the meeting, the construction and operation workers stated that in answer to this honor they will ensure the implementation of the plans and organize the steady and reliable work of the equipment and increase the station's capacity through a number of improvements from 2.7 to 3 million kilowatts, which is the equivalent of the installation of an additional turbine.

It is justifiably being said that the Nurekskaya GES was built by the entire country. The Kharkov people designed and manufactured one-of-a-kind turbines and tunnel ball locks capable of withstanding the pressure of a water column 275 meters high. Generators with a 300,000-kilowatt capacity came from the

Urals; Belorussia sent 27-ton dump trucks, Kazakhstan supplied metal, Latvia shipped instruments and electrical engineering equipment, Kirghizia delivered low-tension equipment, and Estonia shipped electric motors; Moldavia supplied pumps and Turkmenia, glass. Thanks to this reciprocal aid the Nurekskaya GES was commissioned one year ahead of schedule. It was built by members of dozens of nations and nationalities in our country.

In turn, however, the national economic significance of the Nurekskaya GES exceeds the borders of Tajikistan. It has become one of the most important links within the single power system in Central Asia and has made it possible additionally to irrigate land primarily under cotton in the Central Asian republics, covering hundreds of thousands of hectares of new land. It improved water supplies to already irrigated land, thus enabling it to raise large cotton and other farm crops and to increase the production of animal husbandry goods. To this purpose the Nurek water reservoir has provided 16 billion cubic meters of water. The Nurekskaya GES has already generated about 54 billion kilowatt hours of electric power.

The economic ties linking Tajikistan with the other fraternal republics are comprehensive and active. They are based on the socialist principles of division of labor. At the same time, they are characterized by their truly fraternal nature and the desire to help one another and share experience and knowledge. This is manifested most clearly in the interrepublic socialist competition which embodies new relations among nations and nationalities within our country, born of socialism.

The competition among related enterprises--"workers' relay race"--which was born during the construction of the Nurekskaya GES, is a manifestation of such relations. It operates on the principle "from reciprocal claims to reciprocal cooperation." Currently the "workers' relay race" has become widespread in the largest construction projects in the country and is being successfully applied in a number of other material production sectors.

The collectives of the Order of the Labor Red Banner Leninabad and Margilan silk combines and the Dushanbe Cotton Fabrics Association, the Fergana Textile Combine imeni Dzerzhinskiy and the Ivanovo Factory imeni Balashov have been competing among each other for many years.

The socialist competition among the cotton growers in the republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan has great patriotic and internationalist meaning. In the struggle for high cotton production they are marching in the same ranks, continually helping one another and exchanging experience. This is yielding outstanding results.

The cooperation between Tajikistan and other fraternal republics in cultural construction and scientific research is broadening and strengthening. During the past 15-20 years scientific and technical cooperation among republics has developed into an extensively organized coordination of scientific research through the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences and sectorial institutes operating on a union or regional scale.

An intensive process of reciprocal influence and enrichment is taking place between Tajik art and literature and the literatures and the arts of the Russian and the other fraternal peoples. The spiritual affiliation which has developed among all nations and nationalities under the Soviet system has brought about the blending of the national cultures of the Soviet peoples within the multinational Soviet culture. This does not mean in the least the loss of their originality but has broadened its influence.

Ten-day celebrations, weeks and days of literature and art of the fraternal republics are considered great holidays in Tajikistan.

A new kind of people has developed in the republic--patriots and internationalists, with a rich spiritual world and totally loyal to the ideals of communism. The working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia have frequently proved this through their great actions and labor accomplishments for the sake of the common cause.

The Tajik woman, previously enslaved and forgotten, has become an active participant in building communism. Today it is a norm of life for women to be engineers, public workers, enterprise managers, scientists, physicians, educators and active participants in public production.

One of the most important sources of the strength and invincibility of the Soviet peoples is their unity and cohesion. That is precisely why the Tajik party organization, guided by the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, is paying great attention to increasing the internationalist upbringing of the working people. The party's republic committee is seeing to it that all party organs and ideological institutions actively promote the further unification of multinational labor and school collectives and their unification as a single family; they promote the education of the working people in a spirit of respect for all nations and nationalities and solidarity with the working people of all countries.

All means of ideological work are used with a view to promoting internationalist upbringing--party and Komsomol training, lectures, oral and visual agitation, periodicals, radio and television, cultural and educational institutions and art and literature.

The Tajik working people are properly welcoming the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Their contribution to the nationwide cause of strengthening the economic and defense power of our homeland has increased. Industry is working ahead of schedule in the implementation of its high socialist obligations in honor of the noteworthy anniversary. The rural working people, who have successfully completed their season, are laying reliable foundations for the next high crop. Great efforts are being made by the animal husbandrymen to ensure the wintering of the cattle without losses despite the difficult circumstances.

The people of the republic responded with efficiency and interest to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On Developing the All-Union Socialist Competition for the

Successful Implementation of the Wintering of the Cattle and Increasing the Production and Purchases of Animal Husbandry Products During the 1982-1983 Winter."

Hundreds of labor collectives, thousands of shops, brigades, sectors and livestock farms, and many thousands of workers and kolkhoz members have already reported the ahead-of-schedule implementation of their assignments for the second year of the five-year plan.

The working people of Tajikistan are marching toward the great anniversary of the USSR in a state of unbreakable unity with the entire Soviet people, monolithically united around their communist party and its battle headquarters--the Leninist Central Committee.

This was manifested with particular strength during the sad days when the country parted with L. I. Brezhnev. In answer to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers appeal and the speeches delivered at the CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary Plenum by comrades Yu. V. Andropov and K. U. Chernenko, workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals in the republic unanimously proclaimed their total and unconditional support of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state. Once again, through words and actions, they proved that they are together with their political vanguard always, in days of happiness and hardships. They responded to the heavy loss with shock labor and their warm approval of the plenum's decision at which Comrade Yu. V. Andropov was unanimously elected CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The republic's working people look at the future confidently. This confidence is built on the fact that we are being led by the Leninist Communist Party, surrounded by the love and profound trust of the Soviet people.

The party members and all working people of Soviet Tajikistan deem it their patriotic and internationalist duty to increase their contribution to perfecting developed socialism and gaining the material and spiritual prerequisites for communism year after year.

This was the topic of the practical and exacting discussion which was held at the Eighth Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee Plenum, which considered the item "On the Results of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization."

In the light of the decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the concepts and conclusions presented in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech, the state of the republic's national economy was analyzed profoundly and comprehensively. Steps were taken to make use of all reserves for upgrading efficiency, ensuring the all-round intensification of public production and mobilizing the Tajik party members and working people for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the successful implementation of the third year--the core--of the five-year plan.

Particular attention was paid to tight spots and shortcomings which are still found in our work and which lower its end results. The CP of Tajikistan Central Committee plenum emphasized that these results could and should be better. The participants spoke of the need to upgrade the growth rates of labor productivity, to surmount the lagging in capital construction, to apply progressive production methods, brigade contracting in particular, to ensure the strict implementation of plans for new equipment and, on this basis, successfully to implement all assignments for this year and the five-year plan as a whole.

The question of strengthening state and labor discipline and improving control of execution was raised particularly urgently in the spirit of the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The great Lenin dreamed of the Soviet republics in Asia to become a beacon of socialism at the gates of the colonial East and to exert a revolutionizing influence through the example of their successes. Lenin's dream has come true.

The victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet system, socialism, the Leninist national policy and the establishment of the USSR opens to the working people of Tajikistan extensive opportunities for progress in all fields of economic and cultural construction, leading them to the wide and bright road of prosperity and a cultured and happy life. Welcoming the great anniversary, they assure the party, its Leninist Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo that they will struggle for the implementation of our constructive plans with even greater energy and purposefulness.

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CSO: 1802/6

CLOSE BATTLE ALLIANCE, FRATERNAL UNITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 40-47

[Article by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary; published in EINHEIT, No 11-12 1982, SED Central Committee Journal on the Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR is an event of global significance. Our party and people in the GDR celebrate this great anniversary as a common holiday in close combat comity with the CPSU and a feeling of fraternal unity with the Soviet people. The Soviet Union--the offspring of the Great October Revolution--which was created as a result of the implementation of Lenin's ideas and under the guidance of the bolshevik party, covered an unparalleled distance in its progress and had a determining impact on the radical change which took place on our planet. The historical significance of the turn to socialism and peace which was made at that time is more obvious today than ever before.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened the path to a new age. Whereas K. Marx and F. Engels proved the transitory nature of capitalism and transformed socialism from utopia into science, the Russian revolutionary proletariat, headed by its Leninist vanguard, executed the sentence passed by history over the exploiting system. The chains of social and national enslavement were broken. The establishment of the power of the working class and public ownership of productive capital laid a firm foundation for the free development of all nations and nationalities and for their unity and friendship.

The proclamation of the declaration and the conclusion of a treaty on the founding of the USSR--the first united multinational state of workers and peasants--was a legitimate consequence of the victory of the socialist revolution. This took place on 30 December 1922 with the accord of representatives of four Soviet republics: the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation. The Soviet Union is the live embodiment of the Leninist national policy and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Its development proves that the national problem can be resolved as a structural component of the social problem only through the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat in the course of a socialist revolution.

Lenin considered a prerequisite for the firmness of the alliance the existence of complete reciprocal trust, voluntary acceptance and exclusion of any

form of inequality in relations among nations. He fought systematically and irreconcilably against any excesses in resolving national problems. In implementing Lenin's doctrine and pursuing his policy, the nations and nationalities in the land of the soviets rallied within a united family characterized by relations of mutual aid, respect and trust. The united power of this family of nations became the motive force for tremendous socio-economic progress and was clearly manifested in the defense of the socialist fatherland and in repelling all imperialist attacks.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was fully justified in stating at the 26th CPSU Congress that no single country has made a greater contribution to change in our century than the USSR--the homeland of the Great October Revolution and the first country of victorious socialism. For the past 6 decades its successful progress has irrefutably confirmed the rightness of Marxism-Leninism and the effectiveness of the objective laws of socialist revolution and the building of socialism it discovered. The CPSU has applied this doctrine in a principled manner in resolving all practical problems related to the struggle and enriched it with new experience. Today, as 60 years ago, progressive mankind considers the party of Lenin and the Soviet Union the flag bearer in the struggle for the happy future of the nations, free from capitalist exploitation and oppression and living under conditions of socialism and peace.

The founding of the USSR was an inspiring beacon for the German communists as well. From the very start they understood the global significance of the Great October and the Spartacus Union and called upon the German workers to follow the "Russian example." As early as 11 November 1917, in a letter written from the Lukow jail where he was serving a hard-labor term, Karl Liebknecht wrote that the tremendous process of social and economic revolutionizing of Russia was not in its concluding but its initial stage and encompassed tremendous opportunities, far greater than the French Revolution (see Karl Liebknecht, "Izbrannyye Rech'i, Pis'ma i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches, Letters and Articles], Moscow, 1961, p 468). One of the most important conclusions drawn by the German left was that the German working class needed a revolutionary vanguard such as the Russian proletariat had in the bolsheviks. The November revolution strengthened this conviction. It was thus that the Communist Party of Germany was founded at the beginning of 1919 as an autonomous revolutionary party of the German working class. Ever since its foundation it has acted in a spirit of proletarian internationalism, closely linked with Lenin's party and country. Ernst Thälmann formulated the principle that the testing stone of every communist is his attitude toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

Our party honorably maintained this great tradition even during the most difficult period of Hitlerite tyranny. Friendship with the Soviet Union was the inexhaustible source of the strength of the clandestine antifascist resistance, the inmates of hard-labor jails and concentration camps and those who were forced into exile. From the very first hours following the liberation of our people by the great Soviet army, the party deemed it its task to make this friendship the personal matter of all working people, and it succeeded.

Friendship with the Soviet Union was precisely the foundation on which the first socialist state of workers and peasants--the German Democratic Republic --was founded on German land 33 years ago. This made its successful development possible in the comity of fraternal countries. With every passing year the range of mutually profitable cooperation with the USSR in politics, economics and culture and in the defense of revolutionary gains became richer. In building socialism in the GDR we had the opportunity to draw from the treasury of the very rich experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In a country which had once been the bulwark of reaction we made radical revolutionary changes and are today building a developed socialist society, in the course of which, as stipulated in the 10th SED Congress, our interaction and comity will intensify steadily. Reality convincingly proves that the future belongs to those who act together with the Soviet Union.

Throughout its entire existence the USSR has acted as an innovator in socialist and communist construction. It covered the path of heroic battles and victories. It would be difficult to conceive of the scale of destruction in Russia after World War I and the imperialist intervention. In 1922 this huge country accounted for no more than 1 percent of the world's industrial output. Fifty of its peoples did not even have an alphabet. The tremendous majority of the population was illiterate and unemployment raged. Today the land of the soviets accounts for 20 percent of the global industrial output and the tremendously important task of equalizing the levels of development among Soviet republics has been resolved in its essential lines. All of this was accomplished despite the fact that the first socialist country was encircled by imperialism for decades and was subjected to armed intervention, economic boycott, diplomatic isolation and raging anti-Soviet persecution.

Surmounting hatred and hostility, and closely rallied around their communist party, the peoples of the Soviet Union firmly followed their charted course. In the severe struggle against the counterrevolution and imperialism they withstood all trials which history had in store for them. The most difficult of them was the attack launched by fascist Germany and the Great Patriotic War. Thanks to the unity, courage and heroism displayed by the peoples of the Soviet Union Hitler's plans of world domination were defeated and the imperialist hopes of sweeping socialism off the political map of the world were scattered like dust.

The victory of the Soviet Union over German fascism opens the way to the establishment of the global socialist system. The international communist movement became the broadest, most influential and most powerful political force of our time. Socialism is already sinking deep roots on a fourth continent. The national liberation movement is experiencing a considerable upsurge. The imperialist colonial system, which at one point dominated the world, has broken down. Imperialism has been forced into a historical retreat.

In the postwar decades as well the Soviet Union continued to bear the main burden in the struggle against the enemies of socialism and peace. It had to break imperialist monopoly in the field of nuclear weapons on which the United States relied in its policy of "repelling" socialism. The unparalleled

efforts of the peoples of the Soviet Union were required to block the imperialist cold-war strategy, the economic boycott imposed upon the socialist countries and the aggression mounted against Cuba and the countries in Indochina. The USSR is the first to support the national liberation movements in the struggle for political independence and to give them generous aid in building their new life. The more substantial its successes are in the implementation of its five-year plans the greater is the admiration triggered by the program drafted by the 26th CPSU Congress and aimed at the further progress of the land of the soviets. The two main tasks in this program are to build a communist society and to strengthen peace. This is a truly Leninist line systematically aimed at the good of man and at promoting the interests of social progress.

From its very beginning and consolidation the GDR has been inseparably tied to the fraternal aid of the USSR and the increasingly close cooperation between our two countries. The GDR found in this comity a reliable protection from the encroachments of the imperialist foe. The Soviet comrades helped their German class brothers who were taking their first step in building their state and organizing the management of people's enterprises. The SED applied the general laws of building socialism to the conditions of its country, bearing in mind that they had already been tested in the Soviet Union. Our successes along the socialist path increased thanks to the steady intensification of cooperation with Lenin's country and in turn created prerequisites for its further consolidation. For example, as the socialist planned economy was being established in the GDR increasing opportunities became available to organize joint work in the field of economics to the benefit of the peoples of both countries.

The stipulations contained in the 7 October 1975 Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty encompass everything valuable acquired from the experience in fraternal interaction acquired in the course of decades. On the basis of this experience, the treaty indicates the prospects of developing relations between the GDR and the USSR until the end of the century. The specific content of this treaty was helped by the fact that in past years cooperation in all fields of social life has been particularly successful.

Our 10th party congress which earmarked the tasks of the further building of a developed socialist society laid the beginning of a new stage of interaction with Lenin's country. As we know, the SED is a firm supporter of unified economic and social policy. The implementation of the main task requires considerable economic upsurge so that during the 1980s as well we may be able gradually to improve the material and cultural living standards of the people. The level of development of the material and technical base reached by our national economy related to interlinked social processes enable us to achieve this only through systematic production intensification. The necessary growth of labor productivity must be achieved primarily with the help of science and technology and improved utilization of economic indicators. Considerable economic growth must be achieved with the help of the same or even reduced fuel and raw material stocks. The 10th congress defined our party's economic strategy for the 1980s, consistent with these requirements.

We have reached the final stage in fulfilling and overfulfilling this year's plan. The draft 1983 plan is under discussion. Therefore, the working people are drafting forecasts for the second half of the current five-year plan. They face major tasks, many of which are qualitatively new. In this, however, we rely on the good production indicators of 1981 which we must consolidate in 1982. By the end of August the growth in industrial commodity output of the industrial ministries was 4.2 percent while labor productivity had increased by 3.5 percent. With an average yield of 39.8 quintals per hectare, the cooperative farmers and farm workers harvested the highest grain crop ever grown in the republic.

We must bear in mind that each percent of growth under present conditions, achieved while reducing material and energy outlays, ensures the solution of increasing economic problems compared with the 1970s. The key to their implementation lies in the scientific research institutions and laboratories and the close cooperation between scientists and production workers. Perhaps the most important motive force of economic growth is the increasingly efficient use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution combined with the advantages of socialism. This problem can be resolved only together with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all. Therefore, our economic strategy presumes from the very start expanded cooperation in this area.

As it proceeds from our domestic policy, naturally, this need necessarily increases at the present time as a result of the aggravated circumstances which are the result of the economic war initiated above all by the Reagan administration. This circumstance should not adversely affect our participation in the global division of labor, for economic cooperation with the capitalist countries remains an important structural component of the struggle for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. However, it is precisely at a time when influential imperialist circles are resorting to a policy of threats and embargoes that reciprocal trade and coordinated actions among socialist countries must develop with particular emphasis as the linchpin of their foreign economic relations, with a view to satisfying their vital national economic needs and strengthening their positions in the world market.

It is easy, therefore, to realize the importance of the fact that cooperation between our two countries, as was noted at the recent meeting held with L. I. Brezhnev in the Crimea, is developing confidently. Reciprocal trade reached 49.9 billion foreign currency marks in 1981. The Soviet Union accounts for 38 percent of our foreign trade. GDR-USSR trade tripled in the 1970s. Specialization and cooperation developed even faster; specialized goods accounted for 44.1 percent of GDR exports to the USSR in 1981.

Cooperation between our countries is particularly promising in a number of areas which follow the main direction of their further economic progress. This applies mainly to the most progressive areas of science and production. Suffice it to cite microelectronics and robotics as examples. In the immediate future, together with the other interested socialist countries, we shall apply even greater efforts to develop science and technology and to apply

contemporary technological systems in industrial and agricultural production. These efforts are becoming increasingly active under the influence of production intensification.

As to the substantial volumes of raw materials and fuel which the GDR receives from the Soviet Union, our people value them as an irreplaceable long-term guarantee of stable and systematic progress. Current circumstances particularly clearly prove the timeliness of the party's resolution concerning the extensive use of the domestic raw materials and the maximal level of processing of materials imported from the USSR. Suffice it simply to recall the steady improvement achieved in petroleum refining. The GDR citizens know the severe natural conditions under which petroleum and natural gas are extracted in the Soviet Union and the distance they must travel. As we know, more than 10,000 working people from our country took part in laying the "Soyuz" gas pipeline. Furthermore, quite recently, work was initiated on laying more than 545 kilometers of a new gas pipeline with the parallel construction of engineering equipment and housing. Some 5,000 GDR specialists will be working at this youth project.

Consumer goods, the volume of which exceeded 4.3 billion foreign currency marks in 1982, account for a major part of our deliveries to the Soviet Union. Therefore, the interweaving of the GDR-USSR national economies is continuing. The smooth advance of fraternal cooperation is becoming increasingly obvious in the course of the rhythm of economic development and dynamics. The observance of contractual obligations, the high quality and modern scientific and technical level of procurements are becoming increasingly important. Therefore, the implementation of the tasks proceeding from cooperation with the Soviet Union plays an important role in the socialist competition among working people. The conscientious implementation of contractual obligations, the search for new opportunities and the solution of problems of the present and the future through the joint efforts of our parties have been given priority.

Unquestionably, the CEMA members have the spiritual and material resources needed to fulfill the requirements of the 1980s. Success depends on the extent to which their joint utilization becomes systematic and efficient. Important here are not only economic results but the ties of friendship binding together millions of people. Already now many working people are cooperating in building joint projects thanks to the exchange of experience directly among enterprises, institutions and establishments and cooperation on such projects. They also include numerous meetings of children and young people, the exchange of university students, tourism and other contacts.

During its 60 years of life, the Soviet Union has achieved historical accomplishments in many areas. This particularly applies to its tremendous contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace, i.e., to guaranteeing the most basic human right--the right to life. Lenin described the Great October Revolution as the "first victory in the elimination of wars" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 149). The historical Decree on Peace and its appeal "to everyone" to put an end to war and to violence and robbery constitutes unfading testimony to this fact. The

USSR entered the world arena as a country which, in accordance with its socialist nature, made peace the highest principle governing its policy and international activity. This principle was codified as early as the first USSR constitution, which was approved at the Second Congress of Soviets on 31 January 1924. The land of the soviets has remained invariably loyal to this principle, which today has been logically developed in the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the new 1977 USSR Constitution.

The power and international influence of the Soviet Union carry decisive weight in the universal struggle for resolving problems of war and peace in the interests of the nations. The main force of our alliance within the Warsaw Pact--the Soviet Union--is the inspirer of the constructive proposals submitted by the socialist countries in their aspiration to prevent the nightmare of a nuclear war and to ensure lasting peace. Naturally, we are doing everything necessary to maintain the defense capability of our countries on the necessary level. Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armed forces, the units of the National People's Army and the other armed forces of the GDR are firmly standing guard over socialism and peace.

The entire world knows the incalculable casualties suffered by the Soviet Union in defeating Hitlerite fascism in a war which was to decide the fate of mankind; 20 million of its sons and daughters sacrificed their lives for it. Previously blossoming citizen villages were turned into ashes and many years had to pass before the wounds caused by the war could be healed. Many scars recall these events to this day. The will for peace of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peace policy of the Soviet state are indivisible. They are based on the communist ideals and objectives. They take into consideration the experience of the war and confirm the feeling of the greatest possible responsibility toward all mankind.

The desire to make our own contribution to peace binds us profoundly with the Soviet Union. We ascribe particular importance to converting Europe from an arena of devastating wars to a continent of peace, a continent of normal and equal relations and fruitful cooperation. Today the implementation of this task requires even greater efforts and decisive actions. To us there is nothing more important than peace. This is the starting point of all our plans and practical actions.

In the age of nuclear mass destruction weapons, war as an extension of policy by other means should be excluded. Mankind must be saved from the threat of falling from the precipice toward which it is being urged by the aggressive imperialist circles which are following a course of confrontation and super-armaments and do not refrain from even the riskiest adventures.

The worsening of the international circumstances most clearly indicates the urgency of the adoption of specific measures to terminate the arms race and to limit and curtail armaments, nuclear above all. The fact that this is possible only by observing the principle of equality and equal security is clear to any sensible person. To this effect, the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members tirelessly continue to submit constructive proposals on all possible international levels; this is also the purpose of our foreign

policy actions. The support which the GDR gives to the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union to achieve positive results in limiting armaments in its talks with the United States in Geneva is fully consistent with these aspirations.

The attempts of some NATO circles, the United States above all, to gain military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist comity present a serious threat to peace. Such is also the nature of the plans for deploying the new American first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe. According to the fatal decision on missiles reached by NATO in Brussels, it will enter its decisive stage in 1983. Anyone who sincerely wants peace is adamantly opposing such intentions and demanding the rejection of a policy which could cost the lives of millions of people in the flames of a nuclear war and is insisting that the governments of the NATO countries display a feeling of responsibility on problems affecting the safeguarding of peace.

The growth of armaments does not lead to improved security. Europe needs not new U.S. nuclear missiles but a consolidation and extension of the policy of detente, which is a truly historical gain of the nations. This would precisely benefit our continent where major positive changes occurred under the influence of detente in the 1970s. Conversely, the planned deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles would inevitably cause tremendous harm to relations among countries with different social systems in Europe. We firmly believe that the preservation, development and extension of detente to all parts of the world would be of tremendous importance. Detente carries with it important elements related to improving the international situation such as the conscientious observance of international law, respect for the sovereignty of each country and nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other states.

Imperialist activities in the Middle East recently provided another demonstration of its aggressive predatory nature. The shameful crimes committed by Israel against the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian peoples and the particularly horrifying bloody killing of Palestinians in Beirut prove that it is the United States above all which is the source of the appearance of an explosive situation which threatens to develop into a major war. This is an irresponsible and antihuman policy.

The justice of the truth that peace is not a gift and that it must be defended through hard struggle is clearer today than ever before. This means that speaking of peace is not enough. The seriousness of the intentions of the various governments which proclaim their peacefulness is confirmed by their readiness to contribute to the solution of the problems on which its preservation depends. The GDR has passed this test so far and will continue to do so in the future. In accordance with the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress, we are doing everything possible to ensure that the principles of peaceful coexistence triumph over the imperialist course of confrontation and that the peoples can live without war and work peacefully. The all-round strengthening of the socialist GDR in the comity of fraternal countries is our greatest contribution to this cause, in which every citizen in the republic must become involved.

During the great 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR we prove through action our fraternal and eternal loyalty to the alliance with Lenin's party and country and once again render its due to the historical accomplishments of the Soviet state. At the same time, confidence in the reliability of the prospects and invincibility of our common cause of socialism and communism and the struggle for peace and progress of the nations is strengthening in all of us. This awareness inspires all of us to new historical accomplishments for the sake of the further successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress.

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CSO: 1802/6

DEVELOPMENT OF SECTORIAL INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 48-59

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Popov]

[Text] In addressing the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, its general secretary, noted that we must find answers to many ripe national economic problems, "summing up domestic and global experience and adding up the knowledge of the best practical workers and scientists." The problem of sectorial industrial administration is one such ripe problem.

In the period which followed the recreation of industrial ministries in 1965, on the basis of the measures stipulated in the economic reform, they were able to accelerate the pace of economic growth and to upgrade production efficiency. As the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th congress noted, compared with the 1960s electric power production doubled in the 1970s; during the past decade the national economy received 460 million more tons of steel than in the preceding one; by 1980 machine-building output had increased by a factor of 2.7, compared with 1970, and the production of computer equipment had increased tenfold. However, the report noted, "we were not able to reach all planned landmarks. Not all ministries and enterprises fulfilled their plans."

What were the reasons for the difficulties in the work of the ministries as sectorial management organs?

Some reasons were subjective: level of activity of the ministry apparatus, work style and structure of cadres, and so on. The implementation of general sectorial management plans substantially influences the course of the organization of associations. Some reasons have to do with the planning and incentive system used by sectorial ministries and subordinate associations. It is obvious, for example, that the slow implementation of the 1973 and 1979 decrees on economic problems adversely affected the results of ministry work.

However, the overall nature of the existing situation and the entire experience of almost 2 decades of economic development of industrial ministries prove the need for a more basic study of the ministerial management system itself. The present article will try to prove that the main difficulties in ministry work are the logical consequence of the objective development of sectorial production specialization under the conditions of the scientific

and technical revolution and the gap which has formed between the changed place and role of the sectors and the existing system of ministerial industrial management.

This calls for a study of the objective foundations of the system of sectorial management of industry as a developing historical phenomenon and an answer to the following questions:

What are the real foundations for singling out the objective targets of sectorial management in industrial sectors? How did the ministry system reflect the sectorial structure of industrial production?

What was the development of the objective foundations of sectorial division within industrial production and how did the occurring changes affect the ministerial management system?

Along what lines was the need to improve the management system noticeably felt on the basis of the changed situation?

Sectors and Sectorial Management

Let us begin by determining the distinction among three concepts: industrial sector, sectorial management and ministry management. The industrial sector is its objectively developed part. Under the conditions of public ownership a specific complex of sectorial management tasks is consistent with the sector. Ministerial management is one of the forms of implementation of sectorial management, which was developed in the course of the development of socialist plan management and proved to be practically adequate.

In order to understand the problems related to ministerial management we must make a study of its base--sectorial management. The study of sectorial management, in turn, requires the consideration of its foundation--the industrial sector.

Naturally, the study of the problem requires a comprehensive approach and a consideration of technical, economic, social, legal and other aspects. However, the "sector-sectorial management-ministry" base rests on objective production-technical and organizational-economic relations. It is precisely those that must be considered above all if we are to understand the essence of the occurring processes. In this case it would be expedient to begin with the primary industrial unit--the production association.

Bearing in mind the existing shortages, relations between associations and suppliers are frequently the most important. Naturally, this aspect of production relations is important. However, theoretically, relations with consumers remain the most important. It is precisely the need to satisfy a specific requirement that predetermined the appearance of a specific association and justified its existence. The end product, which is oriented toward meeting requirements, is the base for separating or establishing an association.

Since no single association can satisfy all requirements for a specific product, the need for several associations develops. This results in the creation of yet another type of relations among associations, similar in terms of output. Here it is a question of volume and types of commodities, standardization, quality, and pace of renovation. It involves specialization, both scientific and technical and in the policy of new developments. Usually, these relations are the strongest in associations which have in common not only end production but also the equipment and technology used to create it.

Sometimes the links based on the fact that the production processes make use of the same type of raw materials or different components assume exceptional importance in relations among associations. This is the case, for example, with the timber-processing sector.

In a number of cases an association or enterprise is related through vertical integration in the course of the production cycle. Pig iron-steel-rolled metal production is a case in point. In this case it is not all pig iron or rolled metal producers who develop an association but plants which constitute links in the production cycle.

The following question naturally arises: which of all of these relations are practically the most important? Which ones among them are considered basic in shaping up the autonomous unit in industrial production, the sector?

Such questions cannot be answered simply. A variety of factors have influenced the process of the actual social sectorial division of labor: unity of equipment and technology, purpose of the finished product, common raw material, or one combination or another of all of them. This has also depended on the development of the sector, suppliers and consumers in related sectors. Circumstances have changed during the individual periods. Therefore, the objective base for the sectorial division of industry is not simply heterogeneous in terms of criteria but dynamic in nature. That is why various alternatives were considered in the establishment of the sectorial ministry system in 1965, both in terms of their selection and the allocation of enterprises among them.

The specific variant which was adopted in establishing specific ministries was based above all on the historical characteristics governing the shaping of industry in our country.

In capitalist countries industrialization developed from below. Heavy industry was established on the basis of light industry. In this case the variants of specialization and combination were selected in the course of a fierce competitive struggle for survival influenced by the profit criterion. As a result, in the various capitalist associations the specialization of enterprises and other primary units is usually substantially more intensive than the specialization of the associations themselves, which are most frequently diversified.

In our country industrialization developed downwards, on a planned basis, in accordance with the tasks of national economic efficiency. It began with the

establishment of heavy industry sectors. New ministries appeared as the economy developed. In this case frequently the appearance of a ministry anticipated the actual establishment of a new sector and, once the sector was born, acted as a powerful booster in its development. All of these features of industrialization determined its historical success. We can take credit for this. The fact that a new sector could be created only through the establishment of complex enterprises which could function on a virtually autonomous basis was a kind of payment for the success of industrialization. The basic production shops at such enterprises were surrounded by a varied and powerful "circle" of auxiliary production shops. Enterprises were created on a multisectorial basis (taking the specialization of shops into consideration). The new sectors followed this method in the development of their own enterprises. In the final account, ministry specialization proved to be narrower than the specialization of the primary units. That is the reason for which in 1965 there were many enterprises which could have been classified with three or four different ministries with complete justification.

As to the sectorial ministries, by 1965, with few exceptions, the system which had historically developed at the time of creation of the sovnarkhozes had been virtually recreated. Therefore, in this case the sectorial industrial structure did not dictate a single possible choice of ministries and the distribution of enterprises among them.

What was the situation regarding the implementation of the sectorial management targets within this system? The answer to this question calls for a clear determination of the objective foundations based on sectorial production specialization.

The separation of enterprises (associations) in groups producing identical final goods predetermines above all the possibility of taking into consideration the social need for a given commodity and the task of satisfying it as completely as possible.

This is the first objective facing the sectorial management, based on the objective nature of the sectorial division of labor in industrial production. This task facing ministries and departments was reemphasized by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "The main criterion on the basis of which their work must be assessed is the level of satisfaction by the sector of steadily increasing social requirements."

Classifying enterprises on the basis not only of the production of identical finished goods but of common equipment, technology, raw materials used, and so on, enables us to face the management sector with objectives such as pursuit of a unified scientific and technical policy and the creation of conditions for a general sectorial scientific and technical progress, specialization and cooperation.

Concern for the satisfaction of social requirements for the goods produced by a given sector and the implementation of a unified scientific and technical policy are two fundamental objectives in sectorial management.

The clear demarcation between the two main objectives of sectorial management enables us to lay an objective foundation for its study. It is precisely this that the territorial organs were unable to achieve properly. The sectorial ministries were created precisely because of the objective importance of these tasks. It was precisely on this basis that the main hierarchical-administrative line was developed. The creation of sectorial ministries was to strengthen the orientation of the primary industrial units toward the full satisfaction of social requirements not only economically but administratively and to resolve the problem of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. To this effect the administrative levers were concentrated in the hands of the sectorial authorities.

Development of the Division of Labor in Industry and Sectorial Management

The objective reasons we mentioned prevented the concentration of the sector in the hands of a single ministry. Even a homogenous sector such as petroleum extraction is not entirely contained within a single ministerial system. On the other hand, a number of enterprises unrelated to petroleum extraction are working within the Ministry of Petroleum Industry System. The situation with the machine-building industries proved to be even more complex.

Essentially, most ministries became not ministries of specific sectors but subsectorial ministries, such as ministries of the machine-building or power industry subsectors.

The sectorial specialization of the ministries and the incomplete concentration even of subsectors within the limits of a specific ministry affected ministerial management substantially. It is true that in the creation of the ministries the intention was to increase the specialization of enterprises and associations in the course of their further activities and to reduce the gap between ministries and sectors. Actually, the development took another line. The fact that in the course of the economic reform we were unable to create an economic mechanism which would fully ensure and guarantee inter-ministerial cooperated procurements was of prime significance. Shortages remained the same. Naturally, as in the past, ministries, associations and enterprises tried to develop "their own" production facilities which, in terms of specialization, should have been within the range of competence of other ministries. Such facilities were insufficiently optimal in terms of size, inadequately specialized and undereffective. However, as suppliers they could be considered reliable.

As to the industrial sectors, the main factors which determined their development were the objective laws governing production changes in equipment and technology under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. The role of the sector as an industrial production unit began to experience substantial changes under such circumstances.

Previously, the sector was a rather autonomous unit within the public production process. To a considerable extent it manufactured its output independently. Scientific and technical progress was also primarily sectorial.

A qualitatively new situation arose under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Today every truly complex new development in a specific sector requires the efforts of many other sectors. To an increasing extent success in scientific and technical progress depends on coordinated efforts. Scientific and technical progress has become primarily intersectorial.

Thus, the production of the Zhiguli motor vehicle was made possible as a result of the mastery of 2,000 different materials by the domestic industry, based on new technical conditions, and 500 different types of materials which were not previously manufactured at ferrous metallurgy, chemical, petroleum refining, light industry or other enterprises.

The steady increase in the number of intersectorial scientific and technical programs offers an indirect confirmation of the increased significance of the intersectorial nature of scientific and technical progress. The 11th Five-Year Plan includes basic assignments covering 170 scientific and technical, including 41 target, comprehensive programs.

The role of the sector in the satisfaction of public requirements also changed in the course of the scientific and technical revolution. Naturally, in the past as well no strict consistency existed between the type of requirement and the nature of sectorial output. Under contemporary conditions, however, we are faced with a typical situation in which a specific requirement is met as a result of a steadily expanding variety of goods produced by very different sectors. To an increasing extent the sector is losing its monopoly status in the satisfaction of social requirements.

Characteristically, goods which must meet industrial requirements frequently assume the form of machine systems. This applies not only to modern equipment such as computers, in which the share of the cost of the computer increasingly declines within the set of means needed for data processing. Most existing production needs can be satisfied on a contemporary level only on the basis of machine systems: machine sets for livestock farms, for timber extraction and processing, and so on. For example, as has been pointed out frequently, the Kirovets tractor is efficient only if accompanied by an entire set of other machinery the cost of which is double or triple that of the Kirovets tractor itself.

The increased complexity of goods produced by a given sector increases the gravity of the problem of production servicing. The servicing itself has become far more complex and more expensive and, more important, its production by the consumer himself has become increasingly less profitable. Modern servicing must be provided by the producing sector. In some cases the product is only leased to the consumer (as is the case with computers).

Finally, under current conditions the drastic increase in the number of economic problems, the most successful solution of which requires a comprehensive territorial approach, has changed the role of the industrial sector. The comprehensive utilization of increasingly scarce natural resources and

manpower, environmental protection and the development of the social and industrial infrastructure are problems which can be resolved with diminishing efficiency within the strict limits of a specific sector. They can be resolved increasingly sensibly within the territorial framework on an intersectorial basis. Multisectorial industrial centers and territorial-production and agroindustrial complexes are becoming units which are as important in ensuring public production efficiency as sectorial production associations.

Therefore, radical changes have taken place in the objective situation of the individual sectors within the public production process: their role in the independent solution of its problems has declined. Consequently, the two main problems which urgently required a sectorial approach--satisfying public requirements and accelerating scientific and technical progress--are now increasingly requiring an intersectorial approach and can be resolved with increasingly less efficiency by the individual sector. This is the most essential change which has taken place in the situation. Obviously, it could not fail to affect and, indeed, did affect the activities of the ministries. The general regulation on ministries emphasized that the ministry is responsible for the complete satisfaction of social requirements regarding the output of its sector. This means that the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry should be responsible for supplying timber goods to all plants, kolkhozes and organizations in the country. It also means that said ministry is responsible for all timber extraction in the country. However, a considerable share of the timber finds its way outside the ministry's organizations. For nearly 20 years the search for a satisfactory system for ministerial responsibility for "extraministerial" output yielded no results. Furthermore, "extraministerial" output has frequently proved to be better than that of the ministries.

Given the fact that the boundaries of the sectors and ministries do not coincide, it is impossible to hold the ministry truly responsible for the entire end production or the extent to which it satisfies public requirements. This is based not on subjective shortcomings in the work of the ministry's apparatus, but on the very organization of the ministerial management of industry, which intensifies the gap separating the ministry from the sector and the overall decline in the role and possibilities of the sector itself in resolving the problem of social production development.

Having no control over the entire sector and its end product, the ministry is unable to pursue a truly general unified sectorial scientific and technical policy. For example, we are familiar with the effect of the creation of a single series of computers or the production of a series of standardized television sets. Equally well-known is the fact that the models of washing machines or refrigerators produced by enterprises under different ministries are not standardized and their parts are not interchangeable.

The ministry acts less and less frequently as the master of the many basic levers which determine the intensification process. Thus, for example, radical changes in increasing the share of the useful part of each cubic meter of timber depend on the production and utilization of a set of respective machines. However, the production of such machinery is not in any way under the control of the timber processing industry ministry. The same

situation prevails in a number of ministries. The key to success in the area of sectorial intensification is in "foreign" hands. The ministry demands of the plants under its jurisdiction to increase the growth rates of output. However, it is perfectly aware of the fact that it is unable to provide them with new equipment--the main factor which determines the pace of output. It holds in its hands all organizational and important economic methods of influence with the exception of the decisive one--the material factor.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that many intensification levers can no longer simply be left in the hands of a ministry by virtue of objective reasons. This would result in nonoptimal and unspecialized and expensive output. As it is, the nonmachine-building sectors have already undertaken the production of such a large number of machine tools that some specialists have even introduced the term "second machine building." Yet the efficiency of this "second machine building" cannot be compared with the indicators of the first.

To an increasing extent the old alternative according to which "what we produce may be expensive but what others produce is uncertain" is being replaced by "what others produce is not guaranteed but on the present level we are unable to produce ourselves what we need."

The situation becomes complicated even further when the requirements of technical progress require new forms of interaction among ministries.

Let us consider the following example. The need to intensify measures aimed at reducing manual labor, heavy labor in particular, which would secure tremendous economic (release of manpower in short supply) and a tremendous social effect (elimination of unattractive and hard types of work) was reemphasized at the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Such unattractive types of labor include the manual lubrication of machines and mechanisms which, within the system of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool-Building Industry system alone requires the labor of thousands of people. Automated lubrication systems (ASS) now exist. A number of various ASS could be developed from the standard elements, which could meet the requirements of many economic sectors.

ASS are produced by the association in Nikolayev. However, the association is even unable to meet the requirements of its own Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool-Building Industry. Yet, by virtue of its status, this ministry is in charge of meeting the demand of all ministries for ASS.

The need drastically to increase the production of such systems is obvious. However, the extension of the Nikolayev association would require money, material resources and necessary cadres supplied by the ministries-potential ASS consumers. Under contemporary conditions this alternative is virtually unrealistic, for no mechanism for such transfers exists. Nor is there any guarantee that the ministries supplying such facilities or the Nikolayev association would acquire a scale which would be more tangible compared with merely being part of its own ministry.

Another method is for each ministry to develop its own production of ASS. Although realistic, this variant is most inefficient. Nonoptimal volumes of output increase production costs, and standardization and a unified technical policy become drastically more difficult to implement.

A third way consistent with the intersectorial nature of this new development exists: the creation of an association of a new, intersectorial nature. Each sector would create its own enterprises and shops for the production and assembly of ASS elements. However, such subunits could also be a part of an intersectorial association, headed by the Nikolayev association. Here both the interests of all ministries would be guaranteed, while technical progress would also be achieved most expediently within the framework of a single organization.

However, this exact variant, which is the most acceptable, is even farther beyond the possibilities of today's ministries than the sharing of resources. It is not astounding that a lot has been said about automated lubrication systems over a number of years while lubrication continues to be a manual job.

Is such a situation exceptional? As we pointed out, the nature of the most contemporary major scientific and technical achievements, the application of which promises the greatest results, is such that they require not intra-sectorial but intersectorial relations. However, our ministries have proved insufficiently adapted to such variants. The most difficult thing precisely is the application of intersectorial innovations related to scientific and technical progress, although they are the very ones which are the most important and most efficient.

This was also exactly the case with the drastically limited opportunities of ministries to resolve problems requiring their efficient interaction within one territorial framework or another.

Let us take the Kaustik Chemical Association in Volgograd. A plan for a cleaning complex was formulated at Kaustik during the narkhoz period, which would serve all surrounding enterprises in that part of the city. The complex was completed and Kaustik accepted against payment the effluents of neighboring plants. However, Kaustik expanded and refused to help its neighbors, who were forced to build their own treatment systems. This is the typical prospect facing today's ministerial system.

The treatment problem is merely one of the regional problems requiring interaction among industrial ministries in the area. Dozens of other problems quite different in nature yet similar from the organizational viewpoint may be cited. It is possible to find everywhere more efficient alternatives than those used today. However, it is not they but the less efficient ones which are used, for they fit the existing ministerial structure.

The list of similar examples could be extended. However, all such problems share the common feature that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the objective processes which have taken place within

the very nature of the public production process have been such as not merely to widen the gap between the ministry and the sector but sharply to weaken the role and significance of the sector itself as an agent of scientific and technical progress. Superficially, in the realm of activity of sectorial ministries, this drastically curtailed the possibility of accelerating the pace of economic growth.

This situation did not arise as a result of the good or ill will of ministry personnel or one structure or another or one economic method or work style or another. Such problems were inevitably the result of objective trends in the development of public production under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution.

Need To Reorganize Sectorial Management

No one denies the difficulties facing ministry work. However, the answers provided as to the ways of surmounting them differ.

Occasionally, priority is given to a set of measures to improve the ministry's structure. The need is noted to complete the implementation of the 1973 decree and to implement all ratified general plans. This will draw the ministry closer to the sector. Like many other specialists, at the beginning of the 1970s the author of this article assumed that associations would be established under the sectorial flag but consist of enterprises under different main administrations and ministries. Such actually specialized ("real" rather than "formal") enterprises were eventually to become the base for a new ministerial system.

However, to this day this path has not been followed. To begin with, associations were not created of specialized enterprises under different ministries but, conversely, the existing jurisdictional affiliation of enterprises were consolidated. The reason was that associations consisted of enterprises which were already part of existing ministries and, most frequently, main administrations.

In other words the process of the development of ministries, conceived as an "ascending" development from new associations to new ministries, did not take place.

Naturally, this was affected by the inertia of the personnel, who were unwilling to even think of associations other than those which would rally enterprises under the jurisdiction of their ministry. Another influencing factor was the absence of truly centralized guidance of the elaboration and implementation of general sectorial management systems on the part of the respective organs. Other reasons, which our press has already discussed, existed as well.

Another way to surmount difficulties was the development of the economic reform and, subsequently, the full implementation of the 1979 decree.

To begin with, the following theoretical question arises: what is the correlation between economic and organizational mechanisms and to what extent could measures in the economic area be replaced by measures in the structural area?

The purpose of the economic management mechanism is twofold: the creation of a general stimulating situation in the production process, which would be the motivational base for management; and to ensure effective economic management within the framework of the existing structure. However, the economic mechanism cannot replace a structure which acts as a kind of management skeleton which supports the "muscles" of organizational-administrative methods. That is precisely why management includes a variety of subsystems. Even with the most efficient economic mechanism we cannot eliminate the management structure problem. In this case the solution of the problem would be substantially facilitated but that would be all.

Let us explain this with the help of a clear although not industrial example. Today the transportation system is in the hands of several autonomous ministries. They are totally unable to organize the most efficient combination of transportation means. It is difficult to resolve even the problem of who is the owner of the container and who should be concerned with it, although nothing could be simpler than resolving the problem of containers. Large complex transportation centers must be created and a number of other general sectorial measures applicable to the entire transportation system should be taken. Such steps would substantially reduce the difficulties experienced today by each of the transport ministries in running "their own" facilities. Naturally, a suitable economic mechanism would facilitate the interaction among transportation ministries in organizing the comprehensive hauling of containers. However, it would not replace the powerful levers which could be developed with the existence of an efficient unified transportation management system.

That is why neglect of structure means essentially the abandonment of a considerable share of the advantages offered by the planned management system and a trend toward separating organizational-administrative methods related to the structure from economic methods. Successful improvement of these components within the management system is possible only as a result of a coordinated approach.

In practical terms the imperfection of the economic mechanism justified the tendency to develop "one's own" auxiliary production facilities. It is precisely this that forces the ministries to be concerned primarily with their own affairs and only then think of their assigned role as head institutions in terms of intersectorial scientific and technical programs.

On the other hand, it is precisely in the existing structure that we should look for a large group of reasons which have not allowed us to make full use of many useful measures earmarked within our economy. For example, what is it today that forces some ministries to oppose the conversion to the new indicators? It is obvious that once marketing and the immediate satisfaction of current consumer demand become the main problem, and after the

normative-net output (i.e., the added value) becomes the work indicator, the implementation of the more general tasks of ministerial management, such as long-term planning and forecasting, scientific and technical progress, and so on, already quite difficult today, will become even more difficult.

This leads to the following conclusion: unquestionably, the economic mechanism must be improved. However, it must necessarily be expanded with structural changes. What would they be?

In our view, instead of developing speculative systems, we should analyze the actual results in the development of the ministerial management system. Under the changed circumstances, the administrative levers held by the ministries are becoming increasingly noticeably alienated from the objective possibilities of applying such levers in resolving the main sectorial management problems. However, a management organ whose objective foundation becomes increasingly weak inevitably either develops along the line of purely administrative methods or tries to replace its former assignments, the implementation of which is difficult, with other assignments which it is able to implement.

That is precisely what occurred. Facing serious and increasing difficulties in the implementation of their basic tasks, the ministries inevitably began to increase their activities in other directions, in an effort to influence through their activities in such areas the growth of efficiency and thus to compensate for the difficulties experienced in the utilization of the main levers.

If a ministry finds it difficult to implement large-scale variants of scientific and technical progress, which require interministerial coordination, it inevitably limits itself to the type of changes in models, structures and designs of goods which may not be the most efficient but which could be accomplished by the ministry itself.

Since the ministry is unable to satisfy social requirements on the basis of major changes related to intersectorial or even general sectorial technical progress, it intensifies its interference in current practical management related to the production of goods in subordinate associations. It regroups and amends assignments issued associations, changes suppliers and consumers, and amends capital and capital ceilings. Why? Naturally, not because of love for administrative methods. It tries through such measures to help cover public demand for the ministry's production and to ensure at best an average positive balance for the ministry in terms of satisfying the demand facing its sector.

Gradually, problems of current and medium-term management of the production process and commodity output have become the main features governing the work of sectorial industrial ministries. Essentially, the ministries have undertaken to implement an increasing number of assignments which were initially the duties of the middle-management level--the all-union industrial associations.

The more the ministry focused on current management tasks the more it gravitated toward the use of methods consistent with such management--day-to-day administration. The load facing the ministry's apparatus increased despite the development of automated control systems. That is why the expansion of the practical tasks in the ministry's administrative activities triggers a trend toward their breakup and the creation of new ones. This is justified in terms of management convenience and the understandable aspiration to have someone responsible for a lagging or important sector, be it machines for animal husbandry or communications facilities. The question, however, is why is it more convenient to have two ministries instead of one? Could it be because it would be easier for them to resolve problems raised by the scientific and the technical revolution? We have already seen that the reasons are entirely different. What is more convenient? What is more convenient is to manage efficiently. In the course of the splitting of ministries it is not the convenience or the target of management that grow. It becomes more difficult to resolve major problems with major objectives and to pursue a strategic line. Yet the convenience of practical management and reaching medium-range and current objectives truly increases. The fractioning process further supports the idea of converting our ministries from sectorial (even though not covering the entire sector) into subsectorial ministries.

Inevitably, the changes in the tasks assumed by the ministries would change their attitude toward economic management methods. As long as the ministries tried to adopt a general sectorial approach and a unified technical policy and to meet production requirements for the entire sector, cost-effectiveness criteria and profit stipulations introduced additional restrictions in their work, which they naturally opposed. However, when the task of managing current production assumes the main significance, interest in cost-effectiveness becomes entirely logical, for it is most suitable in terms of resolving such problems. In this case cost-effectiveness incentive systems would be most expedient as well.

To an increasing extent the industrial ministries will become organs in charge of managing current economic activities in their subsectors, oriented toward ensuring the production of commodities through the application of corresponding cost-effective principles in the organization of this work.

What type of means for improving management could we suggest? The consolidation of the type of status which has been in fact acquired by the ministries. In particular, the discussion of the following variant would be expedient: officially, the ministries would become organs in charge of managing industrial subsectors. Correspondingly, all of them should become cost-effective and replace the all-union industrial associations. They would become operative management organs. They would no longer be required to perform tasks of general sectorial or intersectorial management which are beyond their power and are becoming essentially increasingly impossible to implement.

Such a reorganization would not essentially affect their structure. It would be limited merely to refining their functions and, possibly, somewhat increasing their number.

Functional changes would enable us to accelerate the conversion of ministries to the work conditions formulated in the 1979 decree. Such a ministry would find it easier to "accept" the suggested management mechanism compared with the official responsibility for sectorial output, long-term scientific and technical policy for the entire sector and responsibility in managing a group of intersectorial scientific and technical programs.

In the course of refining such functions, some of the rights enjoyed by the ministries and, something equally important, a considerable share of their funds may be taken away from them. This would apply above all to a considerable share of capital investments and scientific and technical development funds.

Who would take over such resources? Those who are actually able to deal with general sectorial problems. Since the ministries are unable to resolve this problem, organs in charge of sectors and resolving the main problems of sectorial management would be necessary. Obviously, such organs should be both supraministerial and sectorial.

Occasionally it is recommended that problems of supraministerial management be resolved through program-target methods. In the case of major problems which cannot be encompassed within the existing planning and management framework and whose objectives and temporal boundaries are clearly defined, the influence of a program is justified. For example, if it is a question of the food problem, the formulation of the question of having a food program becomes logical. However, permanent agencies would be needed in the case of a permanent economic complex or a large sector.

If we take into consideration the reduced role of the sectors and the growth of intersectorial and regional relations, it may be assumed that the supraministerial organs should be oriented not toward sectors (or, rather, sub-sectors) which would be the base for the organization of ministries, but toward large real industrial sectors such as, for example, machine-building or power industry. The idea of large industrial sectors is consistent with the instructions related and approached to the establishment of an agro-industrial complex, included in the Food Program, and the stipulation formulated by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on "basic industrial sectors," the power industry in particular.

In such a case the supraministerial organs could encompass more fully problems of sectorial management and include in them a considerable number of problems which would become intersectorial simply by virtue of the fact that the sectors have been greatly narrowed. For example, today the problem of the production of general machine-building use items (specifically the automated lubrication system we mentioned) is inevitably intersectorial given the existence of almost a dozen machine-building ministries; under the management of a single organ machine building will no longer be intersectorial.

The new management organs, relieved from current production management functions (which will be retained by the ministries) will act as agencies which would be able truly, and over a span covering several five-year plans,

to formulate and resolve major problems of scientific and technical progress and fully satisfy demand for sectorial output. The decisive levers governing their activities would be economic: capital investments, financing and long-term incentives. The long-term programs which combine the efforts of groups of ministries would become one of their important methods of influence.

Naturally, the suggested measures are not exclusive. However, drawing the attention of scientific and practical workers to topical management problems and to their alternate resolution would contribute to real progress in the efforts to improve the management of our national economy.

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SOVIET SOCIAL INSURANCE SYSTEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 60-67

[Article by D. Komarova, RSFSR minister of social insurance]

[Text] The programmatic stipulation "everything in the name of man and for the good of man" has always been and remains the starting point in our party's policy. This was confirmed once again most clearly in the speech which Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, delivered at the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum.

Social insurance plays an important role in enhancing the material and cultural standard of the people's life. The Soviet social insurance system is an unquestionable and tremendously important gain of real socialism. Its social and nationwide nature is being manifested with increasing clarity.

During his active period man works for society, for the common good. When he becomes unable to work society works for him, supporting him materially and morally.

The right of every citizen in our country to material insurance in old age and in the case of illness or total or partial disability or even the loss of the breadwinner is codified in the USSR Constitution. This right is guaranteed by the social insurance of workers, employees and kolkhoz members, aid for temporary disability, pensions allocated by the state and the kolkhozes for old age, disability or the loss of the breadwinner, the labor rehabilitation of citizens who are partially disabled and concern for the aged and the disabled.

During the last 5 years allocations in this area have increased by a factor of 1.3; in 1981 alone the material situation of approximately 14 million retirees was improved. However, it would be erroneous to consider social insurance as a system which merely consumes the public wealth. On the contrary, social insurance actively influences its growth. As a major benefit available to anyone, it encourages the working people, particularly in the older age groups, to work the minimum number of years needed for earning a pension and to work more productively, for this kind of labor is paid better and results in a better pension. Since it is based on labor, social insurance is also aimed at encouraging retirees to go back to work, for which purpose increasingly favorable conditions and facilities are being created and granted.

The theoretical substantiation, creation and development of an essentially new social insurance system for the working people is inseparably linked with V. I. Lenin's person. The party program, which was adopted at the Second RSDWP Congress, included the concept of social insurance. In January 1912 the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian RSDWP Conference adopted the resolution drafted by Lenin which stipulated, among other things, that state insurance is the best available method. It was to cover all hired labor and their families. On the sixth day which followed the establishment of the Soviet system a governmental announcement was made regarding social insurance, which emphasized that "the Russian proletariat has inscribed on its flag the full social insurance of hired workers and of the urban and rural poor...." Between 1917 and 1921, under the extremely difficult conditions of civil war, foreign intervention and economic dislocation, Lenin signed more than 60 decrees related to social insurance problems.

Today the USSR has a steadily improving state social insurance system hammered out by the leader of the revolution. Its organizational-legal forms are characterized by the following basic stipulations: all working people and their families benefit from social insurance and security; all of these funds come from the social consumption funds. Outlays for social insurance are financed out of the state budget, including the state social insurance budget, which is one of its structural components, and the social insurance funds centralized on a national scale, together with the social insurance fund for kolkhoz members.

Many types of insurance exist along with pensions and aid. They include, among others, vocational-technical training and retraining of the disabled, their employment, granting the disabled free prosthetic-orthopedic aid and special transportation, support of the aged and the disabled in nursing homes and their sanatorium-resort treatment. These are the characteristics of the universal and flexible nature of the Soviet social insurance system.

An important feature of our pensions and aids is their high percentage in terms of previous earnings in all cases of disability and old age, with a rational combination of material with other types of aid and a variety of benefits and advantages. As we know, in our country pensions range from 50 to 100 percent of earnings; the higher the earnings the higher the percentage on the basis of which the amount of the pension is computed. Furthermore, there are a number of additions to pensions (for disabled family members, for general and uninterrupted labor seniority, and others). The size of the pensions, minimal pensions above all, is being systematically increased with the steady growth of average wages and the improved living standards of the entire people. The firm and consistent line followed by the party and the state of maintaining stable retail prices for basic comestible and durable goods is a major benefit for working and retired people.

The situation in the capitalist countries is different. In order to earn the right to a pension the working people must make payments to insurance funds throughout their working life; in some countries such payments may be as high as 10 percent of their monthly earnings. Whereas in our country less than 3 percent of the income earned by the family of a worker or employee goes to

rent and communal services, it is as high as 20 percent in the United States. This means that when earnings decline with retirement, the people in the United States are frequently forced to look for less expensive housing. Furthermore, rents in the capitalist world are rising steadily while nonpayment leads to eviction. As to retail prices of prime necessity goods and services, in a number of countries their steady increase tangibly outstrips the growth of real wages and, even more frequently, pensions and aid (paralleled by the steady tendency of the authorities and the entrepreneurs to freeze or even lower them).

Finally, something of essential importance which characterizes our socialist social insurance system and contributes to its ever more efficient functioning is the fact that it is managed with the participation of the public, the trade unions above all. They assume control over the proper disbursement of the funds allocated for pensions throughout all stages, starting with the formation and breakdown of the social insurance budget and ending with submitting the names of the specific individuals to be pensioned off; the trade union organizations and enterprises and establishments control the payment of pensions to working retirees (directly at their place of work). As was stressed at the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress, the trade unions must carry out such work thriftily and economically. They must show specific concern for the individual and his needs, requirements and health.

The moment new financial and other opportunities to improve social insurance and to give it an even more all-embracing and nationwide nature appear in the state, they are used to resolve ripe problems. Just a few years ago this concept provided for pensions to former kolkhoz members who had worked the necessary number of years in kolkhozes and state enterprises, regardless of place of work; supplements to first-group disabled kolkhoz members and care for them; raising the level of aid to those disabled from birth; increasing pension benefits to mothers of large families; and increasing the interest of retirees to continue to work. The solution of these and many other problems was stipulated by the 25th CPSU Congress for the 10th Five-Year Plan. All of this was implemented.

The further expansion of our economy and growth of national income made it possible for the 26th party congress to approve for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the period through 1990 an even broader and more comprehensive program for further social insurance improvements. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" stipulate an increase in minimal pensions for old age and disability for workers, employees and kolkhoz members and pensions for the loss of the breadwinner; the continuing equalization of social insurance conditions for kolkhoz members and state enterprise workers; insuring the gradual equalization of previously established pensions with the level of pensions paid today to workers practicing similar professions or with similar skills; increased state aid to families with children; taking steps to ensure further improvements in the lives of Great Patriotic War veterans and the families of war casualties; increasing the concern for labor veterans; broadening even further the possibility that pensioners may participate in public labor, and improving material incentives for able-bodied retirees;

increasing the network of nursing homes for retirees and improving their amenities and social services; improving the organization of prosthetic-orthopedic aid to the population and providing invalids with individual means of transportation.

The task is to implement the plans systematically, on the basis of efficiently organized work. What has been already accomplished? In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase "On Increasing Minimal Pensions and Other Measures To Improve Pension Insurance," the minimal pensions of workers and employees for old age, disability and the loss of the breadwinner were increased as of 1 November 1981. The procedure for computing pensions for the loss of the breadwinner (including people with incomplete labor seniority) of families with children was improved. Additional maternity benefits were established. They include increased aid for children being raised by unmarried mothers, as of 1 December 1981; furthermore, whereas previously such aid was paid until the child reached age 12, the age limit has now been raised to 16 (18 for nonscholarship students).

Pension supplements for old age and for continuous work by workers and employees totaling no less than 25 years (no less than 20 years for women with children) will be increased by 10 to 20 percent as of 1 January 1983, providing that this time was spent at work within the same enterprise, establishment or organization and providing that such individuals are also entitled to a pension supplement for general work seniority. Under such circumstances as much as 10 percent will be added to the pension in addition to its assessed maximal amount.

A demographic approach to the solution of socioeconomic problems is manifested in the development of social insurance. This was the direct purpose of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers January 1981 Decree "On Measures To Increase State Aid to Families With Children," which granted additional benefits to mothers and to young and large families. Taking into consideration the situation in the individual economic regions in terms of manpower resources, a higher or lower percentage of pensions is being paid to working retirees.

Let us point out that whenever plans for the further development of social insurance are drafted, the wishes of the working people are taken into consideration. All citizens' letters are thoroughly studied; the expediency of the sequence in the implementation of suggestions is determined. Here is a single example: the number of disabled Great Patriotic War second-group veterans unable to drive motor vehicles raised the question of issuing motor vehicles which could be driven by members of their families living with them. This "instruction" was given a positive answer.

In our country the conditions for obtaining a pension are simple and accessible to any honest person. Thus, the only two factors needed for receiving an old-age pension are the following: reaching retirement age and having a certain number of years of work. Retirement age in our country, which was established as early as the end of the 1920s, was 60 for men and 55 for women. Workers in many categories such as, for example, those employed in

the ore-mining, chemical and metallurgical industries, transportation, timber procurement and construction, and workers in textile enterprises can retire even earlier, at the age of 50 or 55 for men and 45 to 50 for women. Retirement age of war invalids, individuals who have worked a long period of time in the Extreme North and women-mechanizers has been reduced by 5 years. How does this compare with the situation in the developed capitalist countries? In the United States, the FRG, Canada and Sweden, old-age pensions are paid to both men and women at age 65; and in Denmark, Norway and Iceland, at age 67.

In the case of all working people in the Soviet Union, where unemployment was totally eliminated as early as the 1930s and the constitutional right to work is observed strictly, the other condition for old-age pension--labor seniority of 25 years for men and 20 for women--is no obstacle.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th party congress, "our veterans must ... become more extensively involved in labor activities, in the service area in particular. Naturally, this must be done to the extent of their possibilities and the needs of the national economy. Under contemporary conditions this is a very important task." Our country is creating increasingly favorable conditions for citizens belonging to the senior age groups to be able actively to continue their work to the extent of their powers in the interests of the state and their own; some categories of working retirees receive today, in addition to their wages, 100, 75 or 50 percent of their regular pension providing, however, that added to their earnings, it does not exceed 300 rubles. A large group of working people receive their full pension regardless of earnings. Starting with 1 January 1980 the remaining workers, who have had no right to such pension benefits, will be issued their full pensions which, added to their earnings, must not exceed 150 rubles.

Again as of 1 January 1980 a new form of incentive encouraging retirees to participate in public work was applied. Let us recall that in the case of retirees employed as workers (junior service personnel), foremen (regardless of job) or brigade leaders in crop growing and animal husbandry at state agricultural enterprises, a pension supplement is paid (instead of a pension to employed retirees, optionally) for work after reaching retirement age; with such a supplement the amount of the pension, after the retiree is no longer employed, may exceed the stipulated maximum.

Every elderly citizen or disabled person has special needs based on his health condition: above all, many of them need to be kept more systematically under medical observation or provided with medical services; a number of individuals need orthopedic shoes or prostheses; others require special transportation facilities or household services. The disabled and some aged retirees need vocational training and retraining and employment based on the close individual approach. It is important to do everything possible to extend the life of man, enabling him to feel the joy of living and contributing to his desire in his old age as well to remain useful to society and others to the limit of his forces.

In our country the legal stipulations in this area are profoundly humane. Thus, the employment of the partially disabled is based on the state of their health and is provided above all at enterprises and establishments where they worked prior to their disability. They can work part-time on a daily or weekly basis. Ministries, departments, and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies issue to their subordinate enterprises lists of positions and skills enumerating the labor conditions considered suitable for the disabled. Nondisabled citizens may be hired in such positions only if no disabled individuals have applied for the job.

In the case of disability cause by tuberculosis or cardiovascular and neuro-mental diseases, shops and sectors have been set up at conventional enterprises and specialized enterprises have been built. Here are planned not only the creation of conditions most advantageous to the sick but their vocational training as well. Disabled working and specialized enterprises, sectors and shops are issued lower production norms and granted longer annual paid leave. Work which can be done at home by the severely disabled is being developed; the enterprises supply them with raw and other materials, semi-finished goods, tools and attachments.

Vocational training and retraining is one of the important means for the sociolabor rehabilitation of the disabled. This involves the network of state vocational-technical schools, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, and on-the-job brigade and individual training. Special schools are provided for young invalids whose state of health prevents them from attending conventional training institutions. The Russian Federation has 39 vocational-technical boarding schools offering training in 40 different skills, and 13 technical boarding schools. State social insurance covers their full maintenance costs.

The Soviet state shows great concern for disabled Great Patriotic War veterans and families of dead soldiers. They are given priority in improving their housing conditions. War invalids who are willing and able to work are guaranteed the possibility of participating in public production. They enjoy priority in treatment-prophylactic services and sanitorial-resort treatment; their medical prescriptions are filled free of charge; they enjoy benefits in transportation; based on specific medical instructions, they may be given the free use of a motor vehicle, a motorcycle with a sidecar or a tricycle. War invalids and members of their families sharing their home and families receiving pensions for the loss of the breadwinner-military serviceman are granted a discount of 50 percent on rent, heat, water, gas and electric power.

The Soviet state assumes full care of citizens deprived of the possibility of living at home or needing constant assistance. They have full material insurance and medical, household and cultural services in nursing homes for the aged and the disabled. Each such institution has its comprehensively specialized medical aid system, including specialized examination rooms and diagnostic laboratories equipped with modern facilities and are under the permanent care of medical personnel.

The entire way of life in the institutions within the social insurance system is based on disease prevention and maintaining an active way of life. This, among others, is the objective of work therapy which is organized in accordance with the state of health, inclinations, interests and wishes of the people. Work therapy is based on training-production workshops, including those organized on the basis of cooperation with industrial enterprises and auxiliary farms (agricultural primarily). The aged and the disabled who work in such workshops and farms earn wages.

Of late, great attention has been paid to the search for new forms of social insurance for the aged, bearing in mind that many of them prefer to remain in their customary environment, closer to the one at home, among those with whom they have spent their lives. That is why in a number of cities the old and the disabled are sent to nursing homes on a temporary basis. Single old people who are unable to take full care of themselves receive products at home. Their apartments are cleaned, their laundry is taken care of, they receive prepared food against small payment, and so on. We see to it that such forms of services and the experience acquired in this area become comprehensive. A great deal remains to be done to ensure the further expansion of the network of nursing homes and services to their residents.

The great Lenin taught us to try to understand people with our hearts and souls, to put ourselves in their position and always to help them. This, he pointed out, is the communist approach to people. Lenin was intolerant of any manifestation of bureaucratism or indifference.

Unfortunately, quite frequently we still come across a formalistic-bureaucratic and callous attitude toward the needs of the citizens; our ministry is the recipient of justifiable verbal and written complaints. Our ministry demands of its personnel and the local institutions within our system to check and study most thoroughly each unseemly action, to listen attentively to the suggestions of the citizens and firmly to eliminate shortcomings in the organization of their services, their visits to officials, and the consideration of their complaints and suggestions. Guided by the decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we are promoting the responsibility of the personnel on all levels for their assignments and are strengthening state and labor discipline.

In order to provide better services to more than 29 million recipients of pensions and aid, guided by the party organs and with the continuing cooperation of the executive committees of oblasts, rayons and city soviets of people's deputies, the RSFSR social insurance personnel look for new work organization methods. One of them is the continuing conversion to centralized computation and payment of pensions and aid out of specially established oblast centers (naturally, as in the past payments are delivered at home). Today such centers exist in 56 RSFSR autonomous republics, krays and oblasts. This enables us to intensify our control over the proper expenditure of state funds, the extensive use of computers and the recruitment of more skilled workers; it offers the rayon and city departments the possibility of resolving problems essentially related to services to retirees and the disabled at home.

The state pays great attention to strengthening the material and technical base of social insurance. A total of 373.5 million rubles were spent on the construction of establishments and enterprises within our system in the RSFSR during the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans. New nursing homes for the aged and the disabled, 21 prosthetic-orthopedic enterprises, 50 oblast centers in charge of computing and disbursing pensions and aid and many other projects based on modern standardized designs were commissioned. Capital investments will reach 211 million rubles during the current five-year plan. The ministry is taking measures to improve the construction of projects under its management. Unfortunately, the contractors continue to let us down frequently; sometimes some local soviet and economic organs and organizations have paid insufficient attention to our needs.

The drafting of Foundations for Social Insurance Legislation for the USSR and Union Republics has become a timely task in connection with the various growing types of care for the elderly citizens in our country. The importance of this is enhanced by the fact that in our country not only special agencies but administrations of enterprises and establishments, trade union organizations and health care, consumer service, housing and communal economy, trade, public catering and other administrations participate in the social insurance system. The promulgation of a legislative act, which not only guarantees the right of citizens to social insurance, which is reflected in the existing laws, but which would also regulate related obligations on the part of state and public organizations, has obviously become timely.

Considerable funds are still being disbursed for pensions to working retirees who have no right to a pension while employed or are entitled to partial pensions. Some unconscientious people take jobs without reporting the fact to the social insurance organs. The current legislation stipulates that enterprise and establishment managers must report the hiring of a retiree within 5 days to the social insurance departments. However, this stipulation is frequently violated. Enterprises should be held materially liable for failure to report hiring pensioners.

The question of drafting a uniform pensions law should be legitimately raised in order to implement the party's line of unifying the conditions governing pensions paid out to workers, employees and kolkhoz members. Such a law would enable us to resolve faster a number of most important problems, such as the establishment of a mechanism for systematically increasing "old" pensions on the basis of the higher amounts of pensions to which workers practicing the same skill or profession are currently entitled. This would also make it possible to establish the ratio between the minimum wage and the minimum pension, so that the minimum pension would automatically increase with any increase in the minimum wage. It would be equally desirable to establish a permanent correlation between the average wage and the highest allowable pension.

The social insurance system will continue to improve and its possibilities serving the entire society will continue comprehensively to expand as the Soviet economy strengthens and as the Soviet people increase their contribution to the implementation of the country's comprehensive development plans.

"One of the greatest accomplishments of socialism," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is that every Soviet person has a guaranteed future.... He knows that society will never leave him in trouble, that in case of illness he will be treated for free, that he will receive a pension should he become disabled, and that he will have a secure old age."

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POWER AND EFFICIENCY OF REASON

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 68-72

[Article by Yu. Zhdanov, rector of the Rostov State University imeni M. A. Suslov and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] Some of the basic features of the Marxist-Leninist outlook are consistent rationalism, making sensible decisions in politics and practical work and reliance on the traditions of reason which were acquired by mankind in the course of history. A reasonable approach to reality, a rational attitude toward the variety of facets and manifestations in the external world and the inner nature of man are bright ideals toward which the best minds have long aspired. The reaching of this objective is a lengthy and complex historical process related to the struggle against and surmounting of conflicting trends such as irrationalism, agnosticism, frank mysticism and religion.

There was a period when some ideologues of the ascending bourgeoisie, rushing to assume the power, tried to raise the banner of reason. Its leading lights marched under the slogans of reason and enlightenment toward their victory over feudalism and feudal clericalism. Spinoza and Bacon, Descartes and Voltaire, Helvetius and Diderot, Fichte and Hegel and many other early bourgeois ideologues and theoreticians announced the real cult of reason. As Engels emphasized, they let reason be the judge of everything extant and rejected it whenever its sense could not be proved. The noteworthy and quite timely Hegelian statement was that whoever looks at the world reasonably is reasonably looked at by the world.

Hegel justifiably believed that "reason is the supreme combination of awareness and self-awareness, i.e., knowledge of a subject and knowledge of oneself." A reasonable foundation for human activities can be based only on the unity between the objective understanding of external phenomena and of the very process of knowledge and its laws.

For the sake of justice, however, we must point out that by virtue of their historically limited class positions even the most revolutionary spokesmen for the bourgeoisie were unable systematically to defend the right of reason, for this led to the inevitable conclusion of the transitional nature of the bourgeois system, predicting its doom and demanding the reorganization of society on the basis of truly just and, in the final account, socialist principles. Robespierre promoted the cult of a "supreme being," ignoring his proclaimed rationalism; Voltaire was inclined to accept a deity. Hegel sought a compromise with religion and with the stupid and foolish Prussian

officials. Kant became entangled in the antinomies of pure reason. As Hegel aptly objected, he reflected less fear of error than of the truth. And this was happening to the best people, whose time quickly passed.

The bourgeoisie discarded the banner of reason and enlightenment immediately following its victory and, sometimes, even before it. In the words of Marx, it was not reason but the "demoniacal power" of ignorance that became the most widespread ideological support of the bourgeoisie. Hence the flight into irrationality, starting with Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, to the time of existentialism, reconciliation with fideism, and flirtation with mysticism. Bergson's intuitivism, Freudianism, spiritualism, parapsychology or Zen Buddhism were all acceptable as long as reason was excluded! Reality was considered unreasonable; it was denied that history has laws, man and society at large were the toys of instinct, the dark forces of the subconscious, the aggressive impulses of the subcortex, the medulla oblongata, and so on and so forth. The sole purpose of this was to belittle the role of consciousness, reason and understanding. Today the bourgeoisie relies on ignorance, prejudice and bias which are firmly implanted in the people, the youth in particular, which group, naturally, is still unfamiliar with many things.

This does not prevent the bourgeoisie from exploiting the results of scientific and technical progress with a view to its own enrichment and consolidation of its class rule. Bourgeois rationalism has gradually degenerated into a callous and cold calculation, dry abstract logistics, practical cynicism, cruelty and bigotry, thus turning it into its total opposite.

The bourgeoisie refuses to be bothered with theories, which it scorns in general. Therefore, it has offered the masses the monstrous practice of encouraging hatred, hostility, mutual mistrust, gross sensuality, unrestrained sexuality, suppression of the normal mentality with drugs, advertising, pornography, theatrical shrieks and moans, shock, horror and catastrophe movies, and abnormalities of all kinds.

It is a fact that the so-called youth rebellion of the 1960s was pitted against the notorious "sexual revolution" and the explosion of pornography. Intellectual stench and cretinism spread to the mercenary bourgeois intellectual circles who are supplying, nurturing and encouraging the "mass culture" orgy. The more respectable intellectuals are specializing in propagandizing the end of the world and apocalyptic visions, which also contributes to the weakening and breakdown of the normal mentality. The stupefying theater of the absurd, show business and pop art are phenomena of the same order. The jocular saying that the gods deprive of a mind those whom they decide to punish becomes entirely realistic.

One cannot fail to see that ideologically the counterrevolution in Poland was based on a rejection of reason and a scientific approach to reality, on the ignorance and misleading of the youth, and the promotion of blind passions, nationalistic instincts, hatred, violence, anarchic madness and religious fanaticism. The ideological micromediocrity of the revisionists and the distortions of the Maoist "cultural revolution" were quite strongly related to their basic theoretical illiteracy, the absence of a school of thought,

the victory of hysterics over analysis and jealousy over common sense and what the Marxist founders described as the "cult of ignorance."

Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of mankind continues to heed the arguments of reason and awaits sensible solutions in our complex, dramatic and critical century. The people are waiting for a sensible solution to the main problem of our age--the problem of war and peace. They realize the need to look for a sensible solution to the crisis experienced by mankind. Normal people support the position of reason rather than power. As Marx said, reason is "the universal independence of thinking, which applies to all objects as required by the nature of the object itself." Marxism-Leninism and the communist party demand a systematic scientific analysis of all phenomena in social life and the world around us.

However, this is merely one side of the matter. The other is that reason means practical action, acting, and activity based on the objective logic of the object, in accordance with its nature and essence, and its specific development trends. Such an approach goes beyond boundaries of ordinary empirical consciousness, the narrow framework of so-called common sense, the spontaneity and happenstance of snap decisions, subjectivism and whim, and voluntaristic outbreaks based on the doubtful rule of "keep your nose out of my business."

The only foundation of reason, grounded in practical activities, is knowledge of the objective laws of nature and society, science.

Marx, Engels and Lenin substantiated and left us the only sensible, systematically rationalistic and strictly scientific approach to phenomena in nature and society. They relied extensively and boldly on the rationalistic tradition of the progressive philosophers of the past. In the case of our country this included Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Herten, Plekhanov, Sechenov, Pavlov, Timiryazev and Vernadskiy. The progressive people in Russia mercilessly criticized the "dark kingdom" of the bourgeois-landowning society and the anarchic, Black Hundred and religious attempts to belittle reason and intellect.

It was Lenin's party that raised high over the country the light of reason. The communists became the only consistent fighters for the triumph of reason on earth and against all forces of darkness. This is a tremendous advantage which must be maximally used in the battle against the insane circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie (the United States above all) in the battle for the masses on the planet. The communists counter the bourgeois cult of anti-reason, nuclear insanity and balancing mankind on the brink of destruction with the power of reason, clear thinking and sober analysis, displaying tremendous power and dynamism.

The tradition of reason, the tradition of consistent rationalism, was defended and supported, developed and bequeathed to us by our leader, by the leader of the socialist revolution in Russia. In summarizing Aristotle's "Metaphysics," Lenin respectfully described in his "Philosophical Notebooks" the faith which Stagirit had in the power of reason, in the power, strength

and objective truth of knowledge, without ignoring the naive nature of this faith.

In the course of long years of political struggle, Lenin repeatedly spoke out against those who are unable to think, who have not reached the level of a "sober consideration of forces;" he found ridiculous "the shouts of people who surrender to their emotions and are unable to think." He demanded in the course of building socialism "reaching a sensible agreement with every person."

He always warned the party "not to surrender to 'emotional socialism'...." "Emotional socialism" meant unplanned, random, impulsive solutions to the complex problems of the revolution, problems which could be truly resolved only on the basis of a strict scientific analysis of objective circumstances. Lenin firmly exposed the nihilistic, the Machist attitude toward the intelligentsia, and the proletkul't rejection of intellectual tradition. One of Lenin's characteristic features was to believe in the reason of millions of people, in the reason of the masses. "However, the mind of dozens of millions of creative people creates something immeasurably higher than even the greatest and most brilliant predictions," he said. At the same time, all of Lenin's activities were filled with the flame of revolutionary passion, with the burning thrust of the fighter for the liberation of the working people. This presents no contradiction.

It is true that the destructive, the devastating nature of human passions, so frequently displayed in history, frightened some philosophers. "One should neither cry or laugh but understand," Spinoza warned. It would have been more accurate to say, "Let us both cry and laugh but understand."

Whereas the philosopher Jacoby was distraught by thinking that the heart has its reasons which reason ignores, Hegel is the author of the splendid image so unexpected of a person like him: the thinking heart. He knew perfectly well that man thinks with his brain. Therefore, his figure of speech reflected no more than the desire of the philosopher to illuminate human feelings through reason. "Reason does not condemn natural instincts but guides and ennobles them" was the German philosopher's conviction.

The main trend and pivotal idea of Hegelian aesthetics was the development of sensible and cultured human feelings.

Nothing great is accomplished without passion--search for the truth, knowledge of nature, creativity or the transformation of the world. However, reason, a reasonable principle, is what determines the truth of passion. In the opposite case passion is untrue, sinister, destructive and tragic.

"The dream of the mind creates monsters," cautioned Goya in one of his etchings. In this respect, his "Capricios" presents a splendid illustration, an artistic embodiment of a tremendous philosophical idea expressed by the great Spanish painter. His work is a warning against the sinister forces of unreasonableness, ignorance and mysticism. However, the detrimental ideology of bourgeois society tries to lead the people precisely into this sinister world.

A long time ago, debunking the futile efforts of bourgeois individualism to develop a more or less seemingly ideal, Plekhanov said: "You will do everything possible, you will become Buddhists, Druids, Chaldean, 'Sarsi,' cabalists, Magi, Isists or anarchists, or anything else you may think of, but you will nevertheless remain what you are today, beings without convictions and laws, bags devastated by history. The bourgeois ideal has disappeared forever." Today we can substantially extend Plekhanov's list by adding the aesthetics of antireason, nuclear madness, the myth of blood and race, and hell knows what else!

The most noted natural scientists, including Academician Pavlov, the great physiologist, were consistent fighters for rationalism and reason. "There was a time," Pavlov remarked, "when human knowledge was gained quite slowly. At that time the people frequently tended to set limits to the power of the human mind. They said that 'mind, that is what you will learn and you, Mr Mind, will go no farther.' For some reason they even felt some pleasure at the thought that man will not learn everything. Conversely, I believe that I find it far more pleasant to learn all I can. During the past half-century the natural sciences have progressed so rapidly that the habit of putting a threshold to human knowledge is vanishing. The gentlemen who wanted to set a limit to the human mind have suffered one defeat after another."

This does not mean in the least that Pavlov was a dry, callous, old-fashioned rationalist. In his youth, he experienced spiritual emotions, as a result of which he composed the only poem he ever wrote:

Although the heart is yearning
And sometimes grieves,
The mind is not infallible--
Let it go to naught.

The effort of contemporary antireason to don the garb of reason and science is rather curious. Still very much alive are the characters described by Tolstoy in "The Fruits of Education." It is true that the level of their pseudoscience has a substantial amount of reason. Tolstoy's unfortunate Grosman simply vibrated and he was certainly unfamiliar with contemporary intuitive diagnosing, psychotronics and the psychosounding of the planet by mediums. Visions using the help of the skin (with my apologies!--dermal-optics or dermalvision (from the Greek derma (skin)) were added to the wonders of telepathy, parapsychology and telekinesis. Extrasensory and hypersensory individuals draw up psychological profiles of the condition of the souls they have trapped.

Naturally, if you go crazy, you will also see auras. Generally speaking, "long live" the semidreaming, darkened, hypnotized and drugged brain, for it alone can see the truth, it alone can unfold deep mysteries! That is the way in the age of outer space "natural science in the world of spirits," which Engels himself mocked, developed and advanced. True science rejects all such stupidities. However, we must take into consideration the support which ideologues in the bourgeois world give to the occult sciences and pseudoscientific sensations. Reason is the enemy of blind faith, superstition and fanaticism.

Once, criticizing the amateurs of seances, with biting irony Timiryazev described the occasional outbreak of "pursuit of a miracle" as a kind of mental atavism. This equally applies to recurrences of sorcery and flying dishes [poltergeist phenomena].

A number of ways exist to undermine reason. We hear many hypocritical sighs on the subject of the imperfection of man's biological nature. Efforts are made to blame the totally innocent Mother Nature for all troubles and social abnormalities: it is blamed for implanting in man aggressive centers; it has genetically developed greed and violence and has subordinated the cortex to the dark instincts of the subcortex, gut impulses, and base drives.

Nature should not be blamed for social deformities and resulting personal tragedies. Their source lies in unreasonable social relations which presume violence and oppression, suppression and destruction of individualism, which destroy both man's environment and his inner nature. Naturally, once "the deed is done," the natural mechanisms break up, become distorted and disfigured, at which point they could be blamed for everything.

Not everyone in daily life acts sensibly as a result of differences in education, standards and upbringing. However, to turn this into a virtue and to claim that it is precisely this that is good is quite harmful.

A reasonable approach to reality is possible only on the basis of the comprehensive and full use of scientific data. In characterizing the process of the conversion of science into a direct productive social force, Marx pointed out that the use of science is an "indicator of the extent to which the conditions of the vital process of society itself are under the control of a general intellect and are transformed accordingly; and the extent to which social production forces have been created not only in the form of knowledge but as direct organs of social practice, of the real process of life."

The universal intellect, the collective reason, is a complex historical concept. In our reality it is shaped as the reason of the individual, his outlook, the ideological foundation of culture, the socialist content of a national culture, the methodological base for specific research and the theoretical foundations of revolutionary practice of progressive social forces and the ideology of the communist party. It is shared in the struggle against all injustices and tricks of bourgeois ideology and against the veneration of spontaneity, greed and private interests.

The young member of the socialist society, the developing specialist, the future intellectual who is accountable to his people, must master in the course of his self-development and education the great historical and social power--the power of reason, of contemporary, i.e., Marxist-Leninist, rationalism, which organically combines within itself theory with practice, science with politics and a clear mind and pure heart.

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CSO: 1802/6

LIGHT AND GRAIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 73-80

[Article by Professor A. Shakhov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology Plant Light Energy Section]

[Text] Science has been assigned a major role in the implementation of the Food Program, in increasing yields above all. This means giving selection and seed growing priority.

As we know, agricultural production is based primarily on the consumption of solar energy--the main source of plant activity. However, in practice a very insignificant amount of such energy is used. A maximum of 1 to 5 percent of the entire light energy absorbed by the leaf undergoes photosynthesis. This has been the limit so far.

A comparison of the photosynthesis in contemporary strains of wheat, potatoes and other farm crops and their wild or semiwild counterparts led to the unexpected and depressing conclusion that in the cultivated strains the intensiveness of photosynthesis is lower than in the wild original forms. Therefore, selection has not changed the photosynthetic apparatus--the chloroplasts--and was based on economically valuable characteristics. The point is that in the course of millions of years of evolution the plants created in the leaves a very advanced light-tapping and light-processing apparatus (chloroplasts). For this reason, the efforts to make it more productive were actually ineffective.

What to do? Should we use modern chemical and physical methods for "drilling" in the chloroplast and, in the course of the forthcoming decade, determine its molecular and membrane processes through which light energy is transformed? Yes, this is necessary, but what guarantee or confidence can we have that today, after 300 years of studies of photosynthesis, following this method, world science would lead us quickly to the desired target--a considerable crop increase? No guarantee can be given.

The more scientists studied chloroplasts, the more difficult questions arose. A concept began to develop that one should seek "bypasses," widen the trodden path and not reduce the light-transforming integrity of the green cell merely to processes taking place in its component chloroplasts.

'Drilling' the Entire Cell With Light

The continuity of ideas and the logic of scientific development present us today with two intersecting roads. The first is to go on studying the molecular processes of the transformation of light energy in the chloroplasts with a view to developing on this basis physical and chemical photosynthesis models. Such models would be a means for its further study. The second path is to "drill" the entire cell with light rays, i.e., to engage in the extensive and profound study of the effect of light energy not only on the chloroplasts but on the other intracellular particles and processes.

The great achievements in the fields of molecular biology, genetics, biochemistry, biophysics, and quantum electronics enable us to take a different look at the processes governing the activities of organisms. This has influenced work on the influence of light energy on plants, leading to the development of the plant photoenergy approach.

The effect of light on the nonchloroplast part of the cell, on the nonphotosynthesizing tissues and cells, has been confirmed. We know that the entire cell participates in the transformation of light energy. Even cells which contain no chloroplasts can react to light. Intensive light radiation, direct or indirect, leads to changes in most important vital processes in the organelles--cellular particles--and in their membranes, which are their finest filmy formations. The energetic and genetic possibilities of the cell change as a result of their interconnection.

The study of the transforming effect which light exerts on the entire living cell and in seeds and pollen became a very promising problem the solution of which is very important in terms of selection and seed growing. This is the way to control the development of plants and upgrade farm crop productivity through light. As a result, the scientific-production line described as plant photoenergetics began to take shape 20 years ago. It is engaged in the study of the transformation and utilization of light energy in the entire cell and in the plant control mechanisms and their productivity through light. Whether this line of study may be classified as part of photobiology or bioenergetics will be determined by the knowledge of light reactions in the cell. What matters is something else.

The comprehensive knowledge of phenomena governing the use of light energy by the plants in their interconnection and interdependence and inherent eternal contradictions became one of the effective means of transformation and improvement of farm crops worth emphasizing. For this reason, our end objective is the creation of new forms through light--more productive, faster-maturing and more resistant to environmental factors. This directly leads to increased productivity in grain, vegetable, sugar beet, potato, cotton and other crops and to improvement of their quality.

The extensive experimentation and production testing of nontraditional sources of light energy such as concentrated (focused) solar light, lasers, pulsating lamps, and others, substantiated this approach. New agricultural equipment--light radiators--is being developed on the basis of such light

sources. For example, several thousand "Lvov-1 Elektronika" light-laser systems have already been produced. In these instruments the light current consists of a red light generated by neon tubes and a helium-neon laser. There also are radiators using laser light alone, light pulse systems and solar light concentrators. Unfortunately, their series production has not been organized yet although they are urgently needed by farms and selection workers.

As a result of a short radiation of nonphotosynthesizing generative and reproductive organs (seeds, pollen, blossoms and tubers) ranging from a few seconds to a dozen minutes, substantial plant improvements can be achieved with the help of their light treatment processes, in the subsequent intensification of photosynthesis in the leaves.

We recall the skepticism displayed by some researchers for the possibility of changing plants through intensive light. The years passed, however, and a number of experiments and tests were conducted at various institutes, farms and oblasts. Soviet specialists have been issued authorship certificates for inventing a variety of methods and systems. The question now arises of the more effective practical utilization of light energy.

Light, Heredity and Hybridization

Mutation selection, which is developing on the basis of light, is of particular interest and offers extensive possibilities. We began this work through joint research with Moldavian and Kazakhstan selection workers, agrogeneticists and agronomists, in 1963. Economically valuable fast-ripening photomutants, i.e., hereditarily changed plants, were developed for the first time by concentrated solar light pulse radiation (IKSS) of vegetating wheat and soybean plants, corn pollen and seeds.

The well-known selection worker Academician V. N. Remeslo noted in 1974 that "the decisive factor which determines the growth, development and changes in hereditary plant characteristics under field conditions is solar, and in light cultivation--artificial light--its intensity, quality and exposure." The scientist drew the conclusion that basic and applied research in studying the influence of light conditions in the development of the starting stock for selection should be comprehensively expanded and intensified. Even the most modest results of such studies could be of tremendous help to the selection workers in the practical development of new farm crop strains, not to mention the significance of such research in the development of biology as a whole.

The Mironov Scientific Research Wheat Selection and Seed-Growing Institute is using IKSS and photothermal influence for the purpose of developing high winter-resistant and relatively short-stemmed wheat strains. This has made it possible to improve the wintering of the first and subsequent generations of spring wheats under field conditions from 1-2 to 60-80 percent! The institute's selection workers claim that the advantage of photomutagenesis in wheat selection has been unquestionably proved. Hereditarily changed wheat strains are being tested along the various levels in the selection process.

V. N. Remeslo believes that by radiating seeds with concentrated solar light in the course of the transformation of spring into winter strains we could develop wheat strains not over a period of 10 to 12 years, as in the past, but 3 to 4. The result has been the development of a form of winter wheat the yields of which exceed those of the original strain by 5 to 8 quintals per hectare.

Using light pulse radiation and subsequent individual selection, the Kazakh Agricultural Institute of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture has developed a number of economically valuable photomutants. One of them is the hard Svetovaya-7 wheat strain, the yields of which exceed those of the initial Kharkovskaya-46 strain by 4 to 5 quintals of better quality. The strain is being tested and some of its features must be improved. By combining the method of converting spring into winter wheat strains with light pulse radiation of the seeds, Docent A. Kh. Kaliyev developed hard winter wheat photomutants whose eighth-generation crop is superior to the initial one by 15-20 quintals and whose grain protein is 0.4 percent higher.

The possibility of changing plants with light has triggered the interest of physicists and specialists in quantum electronics. Under the direction of Academician Hero of Socialist Labor N. D. Devyatkov, selection workers and geneticists at the Kishinev Agricultural Institute developed about 300 mutants of radiated seeds or pollen using laser light. These strains were submitted to selection institutions. Their stability in subsequent generations was confirmed. The genetic variety of plants expanded the genetic stock in corn selection and enables us now to develop high-yielding hybrids.

As a result of laser radiation of wheat strains the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Genetics and Cytology and Institute of Physics developed a strain the yields of which exceed the initial stock by 4 to 8 quintals and have a 2 to 3 percent higher grain protein content. A series of "laser" lines of barley entered in a strain-testing competition surpassed the standard strain by 20 percent in terms of yield and 1 to 2 percent in terms of protein content. High-yielding barley photomutants were developed by the Kirov Agricultural Institute as well.

Therefore, Soviet science has developed a possibility of increasing crop yields consistent with the assignment contained in the Food Program of increasing such crop yields by 6 to 7 quintals per hectare over the decade.

Valuable strains of other crops have been developed as well. They include a very attractive strain of sugar beet which, in its second-seed generation, exceeds the sugar content of the initial strain. The selection workers are trying to develop "light" sugar beet strains. This would constitute a major achievement.

Selection "gold" was hit when it was established that light stimulation of pollen before cross-pollination greatly influences subsequent generations. This meant the birth of light-induced hybridization. With the use of light-radiated pollen we can now intensify and broaden the form-shaping process and, in a number of cases, eliminate or weaken the interspecies or interstrain

hybridization incompatibility. The result has been the development of highly productive cotton, tomato, corn, cherry and currant hybrids. A new and very important prospect has been discovered, which could make a tangible contribution to the acceleration of the selection process and the development of highly productive strains and hybrids.

Fifteen years ago, during the period of our cooperation with the noted selection worker Academician Twice Hero of Socialist Labor P. P. Luk'yanenko, the latter said that even if a single mutant plant can be obtained as a result of the light pulse radiation of wheat pollen or seed the result could be considered a general biological law....

Today a number of such strains exist.

Genetic research conducted by the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Plant Physiology and Biochemistry, the All-Union Sugar Beet Scientific Research Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences Main Botanical Garden and other scientific institutions has proved that the light pulse and laser radiation of generative organs triggers a variety of chromosomal restructurings in plants and major heredity changes.

This provides a real means for controlled influence on plant heredity through light stimulation of isolated cultures of tissues and cells, particularly pollen and anthers, under artificial conditions. The thus-developed regenerated plants are distinguished by their halved set of chromosomes and are of great theoretical and practical interest. Work remains to be done in the light stimulation of somatic hybridization--the blending of separate protoplasts and developments in cellular and gene engineering.

It has turned out that a DNA (dioxynucleic acid) string colored with a dye could be separated with the help of the pulse light of a nitrogen laser into individual fragments or, possibly, blocks of genes. Such "laser scissors" could become a tool in gene engineering. This is a target for basic theoretical research for the immediate future. But what contribution could be made to the farms today?

The Economy: A Thousand Additional Tons of Output

The party considers improvements in seed growing an important reserve in further increasing farm crop yields. "Specialists have estimated," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "that seed growing, organized in a proper and modern way, could lead to yield improvements of no less than 20 percent. This means additional production of tens of millions of tons of grain and other farm produce."

The use of light energy in crops is an idea present not only in the development of new strains and hybrids but in efforts to improve the sowing and crop qualities of the seeds, improving the resistance of the plants, and so on.

In developing this and other problems the Plant Light Energy Section of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology relies on the agricultural

institutes and experimental stations in the various parts of the country and the help of the oblast party committees.

Let us note in this connection the great attention which the Lvov Obkom, Communist Party of the Ukraine, pays to anything new and useful contributed by science to production. This applies to the use of light energy methods in the oblast's farms. A number of institutes and experimental stations in the Lvov area are working on the efficient use of light energy in increasing grain, vegetable, potato, sugar beet and flax yields. According to 3-year data kept by V. F. Yakobenchuk, docent at the Lvov Agricultural Institute, increased yields as a result of laser seed stimulation equal 2.8 quintals for winter wheat and 2.2 quintals for barley.

The Lvov area has become a pioneer in the series production of laser light systems. Orders for such systems are being received from various part of the country. With the active support of V. F. Dobrik, Lvov Obkom first secretary, the Sixth All-Union Conference on Plant Light Energy was held in Lvov in 1980.

Serious efforts to increase the beet yields and sugar content are being made in Kuybyshev Oblast as well. Here the Pokhvistnev city party committee has developed an oblast station for laser light seed radiation. Such work is also properly organized in Chuvashiya, where some seeds of tuber root table crops are radiated before sowing with the help of the "Lvov-1 Elektronika" system.

Seeds are justifiably described as the gold stock or foundation of the crop which begins with them, and they largely determine its quality. High-grade seeds are not always available in the country. Even in good years the Uzbek cotton growers obtain no more than 40 percent of first-grade seeds, which raises sowing norms and entails additional expenditures. One of the reasons for low spring wheat yields in the central part of the Nonchernozem area, for example, is the low field sprouting of the seeds.

Every year a battle for each quintal of grain and each blade is waged in the huge risk farming zone which covers the former virgin land areas of Northern Kazakhstan. Under these circumstances, given an average wheat yield of 11 quintals per hectare, additional yields as a result of presowing laser light seed stimulation averages 1 to 2 quintals of grain per hectare. A number of examples of the usefulness of such work could be cited. The following are some of them: every year Molodezhnyy Sovkhoz in Turgay Oblast, operating in semidesert conditions, obtains an additional 1,500 to 2,000 tons of high-grade wheat. A total of 50,000 hectares were planted with light-stimulated wheat seeds in Oktyabr'skiy Rayon, Turgay Oblast, in 1982. Yields increased by an average of 1.2 quintals per hectare, with a total income of 600,000 rubles. P. M. Shorin, deputy director of the North Caucasian Mountain and Foothill Agriculture Scientific Research Institute, reported to the State Committee for Science and Technology that the average increase in crop yields based on presowing laser light seed stimulation was 7.7 quintals, with a 33.4-quintal yield; additional yields averaged 4.5 quintals for winter wheat, with a 20.6-quintal average. As a result, between 1978 and 1980, the farms in

Northern Osetiya obtained an additional 7,050 tons of dry corn grain over an area of 9,160 hectares, with a net income of 493,000 rubles.

Another very important fact is that such increases in wheat yields are paralleled by improvements in the flour and baking grain indicators: the protein content, glassiness, volume, shape-resistance and porosity of the bread improve.

Very noteworthy work is being done to increase vegetable crop yields. Over a period of 18 years, under field and industrial experimentation conditions in the open in the vicinity of Alma-Ata, using light-stimulated seeds, the Kazakh Agricultural Institute has achieved steady and reliable increases in tomato yields. In a 3-year period (1979-1981), with an average yield of 217 quintals and from a total area of 520 hectares, the farms harvested an additional 1,829 tons of tomatoes. Every year the Alma-Ata Kolkhoz plants more than 200 hectares with seeds radiated with a laser light system. Additional yields over a 5-year period have averaged 51 quintals per hectare, with yields averaging 620 quintals. During the 5-year period the kolkhoz grew an additional 1,000 tons of large onions.

By improving the technology for light-stimulating cucumber seeds, A. S. Luk'yanenko, director of the Krinichanskiy Sovkhoz, Donetsk Oblast, together with Docent P. A. Sychev, Donetsk University, substantially increased yields per hectare. Over a 3-year period (1979-1981) the sovkhos averaged an additional 50 quintals per hectare with an average yield of 284 quintals, and harvested additionally more than 1,000 tons of this crop. In 1982 three sovkhoses in Donetsk Oblast grew an additional 1,000 tons of cucumbers each.

The method recommendations issued by the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin stipulate that in covered ground the economic results of laser light radiation averages 2 to 3 rubles per square meter of inventoried area. Farms in Kuybyshev and Kirov Oblasts have obtained in their greenhouses the first additional hundreds and thousands of tons of cucumbers with an additional income estimated in the hundreds of thousands of rubles.

Considering that the cost of the system ranges from 2,000 to 10,000 rubles, profits substantially exceed outlays during the very first year of operation.

The month-long light treatment of potatoes in special premises is, as we know, a mandatory growing method. Extensive experimentation in various parts of the country proved that the interrupted short-time light pulse radiation of the tubers could increase potato yields by 10-20 percent. To this end, currently special light pulse radiators are being developed and the testing of their industrial conditions is already under way.

Extensive research in light stimulation of beet seeds in beet-growing areas and experimentation conducted by the All-Russian Scientific Research Sugar Beet and Sugar Institute have established that yields can be increased by 20 to 40 quintals. In the experiments conducted by Yu. M. Sizov in Kuybyshev Oblast, additional sugar yields reached 3 to 8 quintals per hectare.

Kuybyshev Oblast planted light-stimulated sugar beet seeds on 20 hectares in 1977, 200 in 1978, 1,000 in 1979 and more than 3,000 in 1980-1982. Additional 1982 yields totaled 10,000 tons of beets with an income of some half a million rubles.

By the end of last year officials of the Russian Sugar Beet Administration of the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and the All-Union Sugar Beet and Sugar Scientific Research Institute determined the sugar content achieved as a result of experiments conducted at the Sovetskaya Rossiya Kolkhoz, Pokhvistnevskiy Rayon. The results were frankly striking. They determined that laser light stimulation increased the sugar content by an average of 0.45 percent, which is a rather substantial figure. Suffice it to say that the selection workers had been able to raise this indicator by no more than 0.5-0.7 percent over a 25-year period.

The study of the effect of light energy on upgrading the resistance of plants to diseases and the possibility of using it in the struggle against seed infections continues. Thanks to photodynamic action, Granozan, a chemical toxic to humans used in seed treating, could be replaced by a harmless dye--a light sensitizer. To this effect, prior to their radiation with a laser light system, the seeds must be sprayed with a solution of the dye. In the industrial experiments conducted at the seed-growing farm headed by Hero of Socialist Labor N. N. Golovatskiy, corn smut declined by 80 to 90 percent. Based on experiments conducted jointly with the Kazakh University in Turgay Oblast over hundreds of hectares, the conclusion reached by agronomist M. I. Rudev is that Granozan, a most terrible poison which grain growers have had to use, can be abandoned.

The light stimulation of seeds and its influence on yields depend on the type of farm crop, strain and quality of the seed and ripening conditions as well as on the zonal soil-climatic conditions. In order to achieve noticeable yield stimulation, we must develop and strictly observe a radiation method specific to each type of crop, strain and area. Otherwise more limited results are achieved.

Yields of light-stimulated seeds are increased as a result of their increased growth and sprouting energy, somewhat accelerated development, increased leaf surface and photosynthetic intensiveness, more powerful root system, the increased number of blades, cobs and grains on them, amount of fruit per plant, and so on. Light stimulation begins with light nonphotosynthetic processes in the seeds. It influences a number of physiological processes in the plants, including the transformation of light energy, the nucleic acid content, the growth substances, and so on.

The substantial income that many farms have earned from using light energy methods has convinced them of their usefulness and they are cooperating with scientists willingly and with interest. This means that life itself and practice is on the side of progress. Naturally, things are not absolutely smooth everywhere. Tight spots exist in any major new project which involves the use of unusual and delicate equipment which itself frequently requires further improvements and careful handling. Such tight spots must be eliminated in the course of further research and production tests.

For a variety of reasons, most frequently organizational or agrotechnical (such as the fact that two neighboring farms may show substantial yield disparities although operating under similar conditions) some farms fail to obtain substantial results from radiation. However, this does not lower the value of light in improving seed quality in the least.

The carelessness shown in the Lvov Oblast farm, which led to the virtual failure of the project, such that the farm, unable to upgrade vegetable crop yields as a result of light radiation, took to denying the expediency of showing any further concern in this direction, is an indicative example. Subsequently, however, with the help of a special commission, methodically accurate new experiments with registered radiation variants were conducted, leading to a 12 percent increase in cucumber production. The accuracy of the experiments made the skeptics change their minds.

Naturally, in all cases, proper rayon agrotechnology, an adequate amount of fertilizers, water and so on, are needed. Under such circumstances, the progressive experience of a number of farms in various parts of the country has proved that agricultural production can be increased without increasing the area under crops through the effect of the purest ecological factor. This is quite important in modern farming.

The Food Program pays great attention to the development of the material and technical base of the agroindustrial complex. In this connection, a proper role should be assigned to light technology in crop growing and selection. It would be pertinent to recall L. I. Brezhnev's words: "We need the new, the latest type of equipment consistent with the requirements of large-scale specialized production and which would enable us to apply progressive technology. To say that life is urging us on is insufficient. It urges us on mercilessly, forbidding us even a brief breathing spell."

We are sometimes asked what it is that holds back the more extensive and faster use by the country's farms of such effective means of light influence on increasing yields. In our view, such reasons include the insufficient familiarity on the part of the public and the farm workers with the new approaches and results of experiments and industrial tests and the fact that method recommendations are published in excessively small editions and do not always reach the various local sites.

Another restraining factor is the "psychological barrier"--the habit of applying old methods and fearing new ones. Under the conditions of a steadily expanding material and technical agricultural base any lack of attention to new developments and display of conservatism are bad fellow travelers in the struggle mounted by our party for the accelerated implementation of the Food Program.

Since this discovery of "light reserve" must be used more fully, for it still contains further scientific and practical possibilities, we cannot be satisfied with the existing pace of research. In our view, we must intensify theoretical and experimental work, so that new results may be applied in agriculture faster. The section has been assigned the drafting of a comprehensive work program.

The need to train biophysicists for agricultural experimental stations, agricultural scientific research institutes and large farms, setting up base farms in various zones, and organizing a repair service and a stock of spare parts for light radiation systems was pointed out at a conference.

Since light-induced selection work is very important, we must create special laboratory-type light radiators and supply all selection centers in the country with such systems.

The economic aspect should be emphasized as well. Each ruble invested in light technology for the sake of higher yields returns an income of 5 or more rubles. Based on partial data, as a result of industrial tests conducted between 1977 and 1982, an additional 1 million quintals of crops and more than 5 million rubles' worth of income were obtained. The development of plant light stimulation and the fastest possible utilization of results is a profitable and efficient means to resolve a number of problems related to the Food Program.

The use of light stimulation methods in covered ground raising vegetables alone, covering an area of 10,000 hectares, could yield up to an additional 1 million quintals of early vegetables. Increased annual output under open skies would total several million tons. The protected land on that same area would require 100 to 200 quintals of light-stimulated vegetable crop seeds. About 2,000 tons of seeds would be required for the cultivation of 2 million hectares of open ground. The centralized radiation of the seed in special fixed centers in the oblast or rayon would present no particular difficulty given the availability of light radiation systems.

Testing and zoning of developed "light" grain crop strains and hybrids and the utilization of the opportunities offered by light mutation selection lie ahead. Whereas 10 years ago industrial tests of light stimulating methods were being conducted on five farms, in 1981-1982 they were taking place in dozens of farms in various parts of the country.

Scientists in Britain, Bulgaria, Brazil, Italy, Canada, France, Yugoslavia and other countries are showing an interest in light stimulation, in the light technology for farm crop growing, and in the new equipment developed in the USSR which lead to higher yields.

While using the latest light technology and the achievements of electronics and molecular biology, we must ensure the further development of the theory and advance methods for light stimulation of plants. We must develop "light" strains, engage in industrial tests and ensure the extensive application of results.

The development of the theoretical foundations for plant light stimulation is one of the assignments included in one of the most important scientific and technical problems formulated by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Academy of Sciences for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The State Committee for Science and Technology is paying proper attention to the solution of these problems through the work of the National Council on the Utilization of Renewable Sources of Energy in the National Economy (chaired by N. S. Lidorenko, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member). Our section is a member of the council. However, so far the organization of the work on plant light stimulation is still lagging behind today's requirement of increasing the role of science in upgrading yields.

In order for completed scientific projects to find a faster practical application we should raise the question of creating a special scientific-production association specializing in this area. The creation of a centralized scientific and production center will allow problems related to the use of light energy in upgrading crop yields to prove its importance and would be a contribution to the tasks set by the party to science in implementing the USSR Food Program.

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CSO: 1802/6

PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 81-92

[Article by Shrinivas Ghanesh Sardesai, chairman of the Communist Party of India Central Control Commission]

[Text] One of the historical accomplishments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the elimination of all discrimination and privilege based on national affiliation, language, religion or race. This process was initiated with the very first decree passed as a result of the victory of the October Revolution. The Decree on Peace, drafted by Lenin, followed by the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" and the appeal "To All Toiling Muslims of Russia and the East" asserted the full right of oppressed peoples to independence and self-determination, including secession. The Russian Communist Party and the Soviet system systematically struggled for the elimination of injustice and oppression in all areas of social life and it was precisely this that led to the formation of the USSR in 1922.

The fact that it was precisely the USSR that gave a viable form to this ideal which the bourgeoisie was never able to reach or was capable of reaching was no historical accident in the least. Any kind of difference "sanctified" by the vicious ideas of "superiority" and "inferiority," "purity" and "impurity," are inseparable from the exploiting society. Conversely, K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific communism, always taught the working class that the reaching of its objective--socialism--is impossible without the elimination of all and any forms of social inequality and oppression. From the very beginning, V. I. Lenin and the bolshevik party promoted within the Russian labor movement a spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In his article "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Lenin wrote that "we must combine the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary program and tactics related to all democratic demands.... A social revolution does not mean a single battle but an age of a series of battles on any and all problems of economic and democratic change, ending only with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is precisely for the sake of this end objective that we must provide a consistently revolutionary formulation for each one of our democratic demands.... It is entirely inconceivable for the proletariat, as a historical class, to be able to defeat the bourgeoisie unless it is prepared for this through its education in a spirit of most consistent and revolutionary-decisive democracy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27,

pp 62-63). Addressing himself directly to the national problem, Lenin wrote that "a policy of oppression of nationalities is a policy of division of nations. It is also a policy of systematically corrupting national consciousness.... However, what the working class needs is not division but unification. It has no worse enemy than wild prejudices and superstitions which are promoted by its enemies among the ignorant masses" (op. cit., vol 25, pp 85-86).

In pitting the demand for "unconditional unity and total merger among workers of all nationalities and in all workers organizations" against any type of bourgeois nationalism, Lenin prophetically wrote that "it is precisely such a unity and merger that can defend democracy and the interests of the workers against capital which has already become and is increasingly becoming international, to defend the interests of the development of mankind toward a new way of life in which any privileges and exploitation would be alien" (op. cit., vol 24, p 119).

Lenin's predictions and concepts were fully embodied in the Soviet Union. Such was the path covered by the working class--the most consistent fighter for democracy, equality and fraternity in the contemporary world. This was the most reliable means for discarding harmful prejudices, hostility and hatred, which the reaction promoted throughout the capitalist world among peoples of different nationalities, speaking different languages and practicing different religions.

The Problem Facing India

The development of a common democratic and patriotic awareness in the peoples of our country by uprooting all discrimination and privileges based on religion, caste, "untouchability," language, nationality, tribal affiliation and regional economic disproportions, is a problem which is known in India as the problem of national integration. In other words, it is the problem of unifying the entire nation by meeting the democratic requirements and expectations of various minorities and weaker social groups and strata, who are suffering from innumerable kinds of discrimination and inequality.

It would be no exaggeration to say that in India this problem is far more complex than in any other capitalist country. Even from the purely economic viewpoint all forms of socioeconomic relations may be found in India, from primitive-tribal to monopoly capitalism. Turning to other social differences, we see an entire hierarchy of endogamous and rigidly separated castes, each of which considers itself "superior" or "inferior" to the others. Unquestionably, the so-called "untouchables" whom Mahatma Gandhi described as "Harijan" (God's people), and who are still usually described as such in our country, are the lowest and most humiliated group within this caste system. People living outside India may be struck by the fact that the division which exists within the caste system is so deep that even within the "untouchables" various castes which consider each other "untouchable" exist. Naturally, here again we have differences based on language, religion, nationality, tribal affiliation, and so on.

Despite all this, each group in India, separated from the others through such differences, has populations counted not in terms of millions but of dozens and dozens of millions.

The Harijan alone number more than 18 million. Other large groups are the Sikhs, the Christians and the Muslims (the latter are estimated at more than 50 million).

The tribal populations exceed 40 million. Some tribes have already reached a certain level of development and are gradually becoming nationalities.

India has 14 developed languages each of which is spoken by no less than 30 million people. Hindi is the most widespread; it is the native language of more than 215 million people, although it should be pointed out that in no case is it the language of the majority of the Indian population, whose overall number today exceeds 680 million.

As a whole, considered in the entirety of its complexity and scale, the problem of national integration in India is a real labyrinth of social ossification and all possible forms of social inequality. During the 1970s the situation in this area became drastically aggravated.

The forces of the religious chauvinism of Hinduism unleashed a fierce offensive against the Muslims. In one state after another, including the leading industrial centers, Muslim communities were subjected to organized attacks which led to mass violence, murders, pogroms and fires. Muslim life, honor and property are threatened at all times. Such attacks, in turn, nurture separatist feelings among Muslims and reactionary Muslim forces miss no opportunity to exploit such moods in order to set Muslim against Hindu (the use of religion for reactionary political purposes, be it Hinduism or Islam, is described as communalism in India).

The Harijan are also subject to mass attacks on the part of reactionary Hindu forces who support the caste system, essentially in the rural areas. The Harijan must live in isolated settlements even in the large cities (in precisely the way Muslims who are essentially urban residents live). However, the Harijan are subjected to even worse violence than Muslims. Violence over Harijan women has become a rather common phenomenon.

Another phenomenon known as linguistic chauvinism has raised its head and been revived in many states (currently most states in India are based on linguistic areas). As a rule, linguistic chauvinism is manifested in the demand that work be given to the native population of the state, to the "children of one's own land." Thus, for example, in Bombay the reactionary chauvinistic organization Shiva Sena calls for expelling from the city anyone who does not speak Marathi so that jobs and housing may be given to the local Marathi-speaking youth. The Amra Bengalis are another example of this kind of organization, active in West Bengal. Similar organizations have appeared in many other states with specific linguistic characteristics. Linguistic chauvinism as well leads to violence and pogroms, the victims of which are people who do not speak the main language of the state.

The reactionary communalist leadership manifested itself in Punjab (a state bordering Pakistan) by the open adoption of separatist positions and promotion of the creation of a "Halistan"--an autonomous Sikh state independent of India. The chauvinist campaign which it launched involved bombing, murders and various acts of sabotage.

The threat of disintegration and division reached its peak in the entire northeastern part of the country bordering the PRC (Tibet), Burma and Bangladesh. This area encompasses the large state of Assam and six states formed on a tribal basis (Nagaland, Mysore, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh).

Virtually all problems of national integration may be traced here in their gravest and most explosive form.

First of all, this is one of the most economically backward parts of the country despite its rich natural resources. Monopoly capital refuses to build industrial enterprises here, for the area is totally lacking in such infrastructure systems as power, rail and motor vehicle roads, banking, and so on, and skilled manpower. Let us note in this connection that it is precisely monopoly capital that has most seriously aggravated India's regional economic disproportions. Areas such as those located around Bombay and Calcutta, which were relatively more developed when independence was achieved, drew sharply ahead while others became totally neglected.

Yet another circumstance affects the northeastern region very severely. Hundreds of thousands of refugees, Hindus and Muslims from areas previously known as East Pakistan, now renamed the People's Republic of Bangladesh, moved to Assam and several other states in the area. The Hindus fled as a result of persecution on the part of the local government, while the Muslims left because of living conditions which were even worse than in Assam.

The result of all this was an unprecedented economic, political and spiritual crisis afflicting these areas.

Over a long period of time the tribes in the northeastern region fought the Assamese, for the latter were constantly raiding their lands. In Assam itself, during the last 3 years, a rather widespread reactionary movement developed under the slogan "off with the foreigners." Thus the "simple" prescription for resolving the problem of poverty, economic backwardness and deprivation in Assam is to deport the refugees back to their places of origin.

But this is merely the tip of the iceberg. Based on the "off with the foreigners" slogan, the chauvinistic Assamese leadership is resorting to total violence toward all Bengalis, Muslims, Nepalis and others who live in Assam today. Yet it is plain that not all Bengalis or Muslims in Assam have come from Bangladesh, for there have been Assamese Muslims and Bengalis from India who have lived in Assam for centuries. One can imagine the chaos and madness which the "off with the foreigners" campaign entails. The extremists in Assam have not shied from raising the slogan "Indians, leave

Assam!" This clearly reveals the extent of their political and psychological alienation from the interests of Indian national unification.

At the same time, in some tribal states, the entire alien population, including Assamese and Bengalis, were also subjected to expulsion by force. The entire northeastern region has thus become a boiling cauldron, an arena of bloody conflict between the Assamese and non-Assamese and between Hindus and Muslims.

Substantial divisive forces are active in Kashmir as well, the population of which is primarily Muslim. They demand the observance of the laws of Muslim fundamentalism and raise slogans which essentially express barely concealed demand for Kashmir secession from India.

Let us add to this the efforts on the part of Muslim reactionaries to encourage the Harijan to convert to Islam, thus getting rid of their humiliating status within the Hindu system. Such efforts are immediately used by the Hindu communalists in promoting fights between Hindus and Muslims and acts of violence against the Harijan. Three years ago, a conflict broke out in Bihar, even between the "higher" and "middle" Hindu castes, spreading over the vast rural areas in the state.

In a word, communalism, the caste system, the persecution of the Harijan, linguistic chauvinism, separatism and divisiveness, operating under a variety of provocative and subversive slogans, have become a serious threat to Indian national unity and, consequently, to our democracy and national independence.

A highly characteristic fact is that all of these reactionary, pro-American and anti-Soviet forces, which are constantly warring against each other and promoting bloody clashes among the simple people, are united in their opposition to the anti-imperialist and antifeudal forces in the country. All of them are against democracy and socialism. All of them oppose land reform and fiercely support "free enterprise."

Let us also note that all of these "movements" and "campaigns" organized by similar reactionaries and their associations are invariably headed by the sons and daughters of the Indian nouveaux riches, or those among the urban industrialists and merchants who became rich quickly, as well as the prosperous peasants and capitalist-type landowners in rural areas.

Why is it that such harmful and destructive forces prove to be so influential? The development of capitalism in agriculture expelled dozens of millions of lower and medium-level peasants from the land, as a result of which land ownership became even more concentrated in the hands of the prosperous peasants and capitalist-type landowners, who essentially replaced the old semifeudal landowners. Tremendous rural unemployment was the inevitable consequence of this.

Unemployment among educated youth, technicians, engineers, physicians, scientific workers, lawyers, and the intelligentsia at large also rose sharply. More than 50 percent of the population is currently officially classified as living below the poverty level.

It is entirely natural, therefore, that the mass struggle is increasingly spreading and reaching new heights. Industrial and service workers and white-collar workers in state establishments and private enterprises, peasants and landless farmers, students and the youth as a whole, and teachers in secondary and higher schools, including women, belonging to all of these categories, are joining in the mass struggle for simple survival. In their efforts to contain such growing movements, the reactionary forces have resorted to particularly refined methods aimed at breaking up and crushing the growing unity and militant spirit of the masses.

Specifically, this method consists of encouraging base passions triggered by the planned manipulation of prejudices and suspicions, promoted, naturally, by the exploiting classes themselves in the course of centuries of rule.

Such divisive tactics are assisted by the increased feelings of pessimism, fatalism, suspicion, cynicism and despair among the broad population strata, the educated youth in particular, who have joined the ranks of the unemployed. Painful unemployment, loss of faith in democratic and humanistic values and loss of confidence in the future are grounds on which obscurantist and sadistic "movements" grow. Under such circumstances it is not particularly difficult to mislead people (especially young people) by means of cheap, vulgar and garish slogans which promise to resolve all the problems on earth. In other words, the road to hell is painted in bright colors.

We already mentioned the way in which the "off with the foreigners" slogan was used in Assam. Let us consider another example.

Bombay is in the state of Maharashtra, the official language of which is Marathi. It is toward this largest industrial city in India that, naturally, many workers, technicians, white-collar workers and others have gravitated from all parts of the country. Operating under the "linguistic flag" of Marathi, the Shiva Sena chauvinistic organization sets the Marathi-speaking local youth upon them, describing the outsiders as the "garbage which has poured into our city," and proclaiming that it is precisely they who take jobs and housing away from the local youth. In this manner, unemployment in Bombay is presented not as a result of the insatiable pursuit of profit on the part of the entrepreneurs, but of the invasion of the city by poor people from other states looking for work!

It is entirely obvious that the unparalleled persecution of the Harijan in rural areas is equally the result of capitalist development in agriculture. Most prosperous peasants and landowners belong to Hindu families affiliated with the higher and middle castes. The mass of middle and poor peasants belonging to such castes is presently landless and class differentiation is steadily increasing among the higher and middle castes. The Harijan have been and remain traditionally landless. Therefore, the poor belonging to the higher and middle castes are drawing ever closer to the Harijan in their common class struggle with the big landowners for land and jobs. From the viewpoint of the rich belonging to the higher and middle castes, the "simple" solution of the problem is to encourage caste prejudices among the poor within their own castes and toward the Harijan, and to undermine the growing

class consciousness and class solidarity developing among the poor using the poisonous caste weapon. It is precisely this method that the rural rich are practicing virtually throughout India.

This does not apply to the rural rich alone. Mass violence, promoted under the cover of communalist and caste "principles," is encouraged among workers in cities such as Bombay, Ahmadabad, Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Indore and other industrial centers throughout the country.

Struggle for National Integration

It is entirely obvious that no truly effective solution to such problems other than socialism, public ownership of productive capital and its planned utilization in the interests of those who engage in socially useful activity exists.

However, this does not mean in the least that the struggle for resolving such problems should not be waged; it would be impossible to underestimate the importance of such a struggle. The class enemy relies on subverting unity within the working class and among all progressive and democratic forces in the country. Yet it is such forces that must unite in order to counter the Machiavellian intrigues of the reaction and to secure and defend democracy, which must become the foundation and bridgehead for the advance toward socialism. Therefore, the struggle for national integration is an organic and indivisible part of a democratic and a socialist revolution in India.

Need we explain that national integration will not be achieved as a result of pious prayers for patriotic unity or the ancient Indian culture, separate from the people's struggle for economic and political demands? In this context, the struggle for national integration has at least three main aspects. The Indian constitution contains very clear stipulations opposing all discrimination based on religious, caste and other differences. The law stipulates that all citizens are equal. Furthermore, laws have been passed by the parliament according to which the practice of "untouchability" is considered a criminal offense. In reality, however, the illegal discrimination against Muslims, the Harijan and tribes in general, and even their persecution, are the rule rather than the exception.

The working class and other leftist democratic forces must invariably defend minorities in all cases of violation of their legal rights. This is most important.

Secondly, a decisive struggle must be waged against chauvinistic forces within the various population strata constituting one "majority" or another. Such a "majority" could be based on religious, linguistic or caste principles. Although no official language exists in the country at large, an official language, the language of the "majority," exists within each individual state.

Thirdly, it is equally necessary not to ignore the problem of minority separatism, which could be equally based on religious, linguistic or caste

principles. However, this problem must be approached with understanding and patience, for it is precisely the minorities who are subjected to steady attacks, so that their protection becomes a primary task.

The struggle for national integration and against reactionary divisive forces, waged by the Communist Party of India, the labor movement and the broad democratic and patriotic forces in India, has a long history.

The problem arose in its acute and widespread form after World War I, during the period of the tempestuous upsurge of the national liberation movement. In addition to bloody reprisals, the British rulers answered it with deliberate attempts to divide the Indian people. They tried to present themselves as "sympathetic and fatherly guardians" of minorities, "protecting" them from the liberation movement headed by the Indian National Congress under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. Operating in this spirit, they offered a variety of "guarantees" which, naturally, were nothing but a treacherous trap aimed at alienating Muslims, Harijan and others from the broad liberation movement.

The leadership of the liberation movement also clearly realized that in order to unify the entire nation, justice in relations with minorities and the particularly oppressed social strata was a necessary prerequisite for national independence. A number of specific programs were drafted to this effect and Gandhi became a structural component of the overall liberation movement program.

He promoted unity between Hindus and Muslims most decisively, disseminating his ideas on the unity of the basic concepts shared by both religions. He fought equally firmly and unyieldingly to uproot the ulcer of "untouchability," for which purpose he set up a special organization acting under the aegis of the Indian National Congress. In precisely the same way he set up a special organization to promote development and progress among the tribes.

He was a firm supporter of equality of all Indian languages, including Urdu, to which Muslims were particularly close, and encouraged the creation of states based on the linguistic principle. Gandhi popularized Hindi as the language of communication among all peoples of the country. However, he emphasized that the role of Hindi should be accepted by the nations speaking other languages voluntarily rather than as a result of any type of coercion.

In the period which preceded independence the communists and the worker and peasant movements they headed also fought for national unity, defending the democratic demands of minorities and other particularly oppressed social strata.

Naturally, we approached this problem from the class viewpoint. We particularly relied on organizing an uncompromising struggle against British imperialism and large feudal landowners, based on a worker-peasant battle alliance. We always emphasized that this was precisely the key to achieving unity between Hindus and Muslims and the elimination of "untouchability." In some parts of the country we were able to create a sufficiently strong unity of this kind, although we failed to accomplish this on a national scale.

As to India's linguistic problem, here as well we proceeded from the fact that this was essentially a problem of a national nature and that it could be resolved only by ensuring the independence of India as a voluntary federation, each of whose members would be guaranteed equal rights.

As is well-known, independence was gained but at the cost of dividing the country on the basis of religion.

If one can speak of any type of unity among people professing different religions or belonging to different castes, speaking different languages, and so on, today it may be found in the country only in the areas in which the communists are strong and influential. Such unity, regardless of religious, caste or linguistic differences, was the result of the efforts and the struggle waged by the trade unions, the peasant organizations and the organizations of farm workers, headed by the communists. Even under conditions affected by the general tension, peace and friendly relations among people have prevailed here. These areas are quite large. However, bearing in mind India's scale, territory and population, they are nevertheless clearly insufficient to change the overall political atmosphere in the country.

Some Urgent Problems and Tasks

The positive and optimistic aspect is that of late the mass organizations of workers and the toiling peasantry are becoming increasingly aware of the need to intervene in national integration problems. Thus, the All-Indian Trade Union Congress held a special conference in defense of minority rights and the struggle against the forces of communalism, caste, chauvinism and separatism. The peasant and agricultural worker organizations are paying increasing attention to protecting the Harijan and to the struggle for their rights.

Allow me to single out a number of topical problems facing us under these circumstances:

Bearing in mind that the aggravation of social conflicts which are tearing the country apart is rooted in increasing poverty, galloping unemployment and intensified regional economic disproportions, we must always proceed from the fact that the key to the solution of the national integration problem is the tireless struggle for the adoption of a noncapitalist way of development and, above all, for accelerated economic development accompanied by improvements in the population's living standard;

The conflict caused by growing regional economic disproportions is the most dangerous of all conflicts dividing the country; it is precisely these economic disproportions that are the basic reason for the divisive "movements" in the country. Offering greater financial rights to state governments, with a view to increasing their financial resources and expenditures in accordance with state needs would be quite essential in surmounting them. This can be fully combined with tasks related to centralized planning in the interest of economic development;

This would also help to resolve the problem of linguistic chauvinism, which is quite closely related to regional unemployment.

Naturally, the linguistic problem in itself is far broader. The positions held by the parliament and by all progressive forces in the country is that all languages in India are national and equal and that whereas English remains necessary for purposes of scientific progress and international communication, it should be gradually replaced by Hindi as a language of communication among states, while the local language within each state should be the administrative language of the state and of school and college education.

However, certain difficulties have appeared in the implementation of this policy. Officially, the Parliament has adopted the so-called trilinguistic formula in education. This means that throughout the country students must be trained in their own language, in Hindi and in English, while students whose native language is Hindi should learn, in addition to it, one more Indian language. The purpose of this formula is for students whose native tongue is Hindi to learn one of the four southern Indian languages, in order to implement more energetically integration between the southern and northern parts of the country (unlike most other Indian languages, the southern languages are not based on Sanskrit).

In practice, however, most Hindi-speaking students have chosen to learn Bengali, Marathi and others, i.e., languages of Sanskrit origin, which they find easier compared with the other southern Indian languages.

This has caused a great deal of indignation in the south, intensified by the fact that civil service tests are given in Hindi, which give Hindi-speaking students definite advantages compared with the southerners. That is why it was demanded in the south that all civil service tests be given in English, which is equally foreign to all and equally "nonadvantageous" to all.

There is also the problem of Urdu. For entirely understandable reasons, this language is actively used by the Muslims, although we must point out that Urdu is not the native language of all Muslims. Furthermore, it is the native language of some Hindu castes in northern India, which adopted the language during the period of Mongol domination.

The Hindu communalists have mounted a fierce attack on Urdu, and are opposing with all their strength this language needed to assume a suitable position in education and administration.

The progressive democratic forces in India are struggling to defend Urdu and for its proper place in education and administration in the states in which it is spoken by a considerable percentage of the population. This struggle must be continued.

We must also continue to see to it that the trilinguistic formula is properly implemented and that Hindi becomes the language of communication among states. However, we must also insist that people who do not speak Hindi adopt it on an absolutely voluntary basis. No coercion should be allowed in

promoting this objective and no concessions should be made to Hindu linguistic chauvinism. At the same time, we must surmount the blind opposition to Hindi in southern Indian patiently and sympathetically;

The problem of regional economic disproportions yields in terms of complexity only to the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations. This conflict, which had brought about the division of the country and is poisoning the political atmosphere in India to this day, is perhaps the worst legacy of the British policy of "divide and rule." Revanchist and obscurantist Hindu communalist organizations are constantly setting Hindu against Muslim while reactionary Muslim organizations are pursuing a similar policy of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

The most urgent task is to ensure the safety of the life and property of the Muslims and protect the honor of Muslim women. To this effect Muslims must be properly represented in all areas of the administrative apparatus, including the police and the judiciary, to which they actually have no access in violation of all laws which stipulate the exact opposite. Corresponding authoritative organs must be created both on the central and state levels to supervise the observance of legislative stipulations in defense of the democratic rights of Muslim interests and the implementation of such stipulations. Such agencies should have executive powers rather than constitute good will consultative assemblies, the recommendations of which bind no one. Such measures must be implemented along with waging a steady struggle against Hindu communalism and Muslim separatism, which represents the specific means through which Muslim communalism gains mass support. Both Hindu and Muslim masses must understand that communalists, whether Hindu or Muslim, are their common enemy and that their true interests are inseparable from their joint struggle against the reactionaries practicing either religion;

As we pointed out, the problem of caste, the main victims of which are the Harijan, is becoming increasingly severe.

The law assigns specific quotas for Harijan and tribal members in the best schools and government institutions. However, as in the case of other similar measures aimed at protecting minority interests, a considerable share of such quotas remains unfilled. It is entirely natural that this triggers strong feelings of discontent. Nevertheless, it is quite characteristic that reactionaries from the higher castes have fiercely attacked even this quite modest concession made to the Harijan and the tribal population. Higher caste reactionaries in some states have mounted against them a real mass persecution campaign, demanding that such advantages in education and employment be abolished, which, once again, has led to acts of violence, arson and bloodshed.

The trade unions and the other broad democratic forces have taken up the defense of these stipulations and opposed attacks on the part of caste reactionaries. As was the case with the Muslims, equally necessary here, with a view to ensuring the physical safety of the Harijan and the tribes, is the protection of their rights as Indian citizens, guaranteed by the law, and ensuring their effective representation within the administrative structure;

The overwhelming majority of the tribal population continues to live under the most pitiful conditions. By the time that British rule was established in India, these tribes had barely passed the stage of hunting and food gathering in their historical development. Their main habitat was the mountains and the forests. Under British rule a variety of laws on forests were passed, which made them virtually inaccessible to the tribes, depriving them of their only source of sustenance. At the same time, greedy usurers invaded the areas inhabited by the tribes, mercilessly grabbing tribal land.

In the period which followed independence, the bourgeoisie took this process to its logical completion. Innumerable usurers, merchants, timber contractors and land usurpers invaded these areas like locusts and reduced the local population to the status of poor semislaves. Let us add that neither the exploiters nor the callous bureaucrats operating in these areas are familiar with the tribal languages.

Gradually large mass movements developed in these areas, including some headed by communists. Their main requirements were the abolition of crushing debts, the returning to the tribes of the lands seized from them, the creation of forest cooperatives and the establishment of minimum wages.

Currently the creation of autonomous states inhabited by the tribes is the focal point of this program of demands.

Naturally, the establishment of such states should not be reduced to a mere formality. Efficient steps must be taken to free the tribes from the unbearable burden they continue to carry. Such autonomous states should enjoy real political rights rather than serve as a screen for bureaucratic rule. It is true that the tribal population is still backward. However, it consists of exceptionally energetic, intelligent and courageous people with very strong native cultural traditions. Granted real political rights and with the help of the central government, consisting of financial assistance, the technology needed under their specific circumstances, and the help of sympathetic technical experts, they would unquestionably be able to secure their own prosperous future.

As we pointed out, the problem of separatism and divisive trends among tribes have also become apparent in some states created on a tribal basis and in the tribal movement at large. This must be firmly opposed. Naturally, such opposition can be successful only if the just demands of the tribes have been properly met.

The mass organizations play a particularly important and responsible role in resolving the entire set of national integration problems. The working class, the rural poor and the toiling peasantry--the working class above all--must head the struggle against the sinister forces of disintegration and division and for the consolidation of national unity.

There are laws in the country protecting the interests of minorities and the particularly oppressed social strata. New laws of the same kind should be passed and their practical implementation ensured. It must be stressed most

clearly that under the specific conditions prevailing in India national integration means waging an uncompromising struggle between the forces of democracy and socialism, on the one hand, and international and domestic reaction, on the other.

Essentially this means that national integration should be started from the very bottom. It must develop on the basis of powerful movements organized by the working class, the peasantry and all democratic forces.

Mass education and instruction is today a vitally important task along with the physical protection of minorities and other oppressed popular strata. The masses must be made aware continually that religious, linguistic and other communities which hold a dominating position today can not attain true social equality without a struggle for democratic minority rights. In turn, the minorities must also clearly understand that they would be unable to secure their just demands without uniting themselves with the toiling masses of religious, linguistic, caste and other dominating groups.

Unity and the true solution of problems for all of them or fratricidal quarrels and extinction threatening both is the way the question is formulated. This fact must be understood by the millions and millions of people throughout the country.

In the course of such mass educational effort we must steadily expose chauvinism, the caste system, separatism and divisiveness as the toxic weapons used by the greedy bourgeoisie, the feudal elements, the multinational corporations, the CIA, and others, for their selfish interests, in an effort to drown the forces of Indian democracy and socialism in the ocean of a fratricidal civil war and bloodshed. The masses must realize, regardless of differences in religion, language, caste affiliation, and so on, that all of these harmful forces are their common enemy and must jointly struggle against them.

A number of specific problems exist on which the trade unions, the peasant organizations and the organizations of agricultural workers could concentrate their practical efforts. This applies above all to discrimination in employment. The trade unions must mount a struggle against such discrimination and wage it steadily as part of their daily activities.

In the rural areas the Harijan are made to settle outside the villages. They are even forbidden to draw water from the village wells. The task of the peasant organizations and the organizations of agricultural workers is to fight such inhuman discrimination.

Achieving democratic and class unity and crossing religious, caste, linguistic and other barriers are not only necessary but entirely possible.

Such is the path which we must follow in implementing the lofty Leninist ideal of defending the progress of mankind toward a new way of life alien to all privileges and all exploitation.

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CSO: 1802/6

AFRICA: SOCIOCLASS CHANGES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 93-104

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. Andreyev]

[Text] Africa is a continent of liberated countries in which colonialism, which is departing from the historical arena, is engaged in protracted rear-guard battles. Here more than 400 million people live on 30 million square kilometers. The population will double by the year 2000.

As we know, the splintered and archaic traditional production forms facilitated the European conquerors in seizing and plundering the continent's human and natural resources. The small size (compared with Asia) of the overwhelming majority of today's African states and the linear configuration of their boundaries itself (only one-quarter of which follow natural-geographic lines, the rest being based on parallels, meridians and other arbitrary criteria) reflect both the former sharp rivalry among mother countries and the persistent desire of the latter to strengthen ethnic-tribal differences, hostility, and tribalism as a source of internecine wars, separatism and conflicts, which prevent the development of large national communities and strong governmental formations.

Unlike the case in Asia, the religious factor here played no essential role, while under the thin layer of chiefs and elders who cooperated with (or fought against) the colonial administrations, tribal and patriarchal-communal ways of life and the awareness of the bulk of the population appeared to have frozen in a state of age-old social lethargy. In terms of these masses colonialism acted essentially as a foreign exploiter. As represented by the colonial administration and its military-repressive apparatus, it rose above the kaleidoscopic ethnic groups and tribes divided by artificial boundaries.

The transplanting of capitalist production relations to African soil under circumstances in which the production forces had not reached a proper level of maturity brought about the specific phenomenon of "backward" capitalist development, with the reproduction of its quasiprimitive forms, superficially suggesting its beginnings in Western Europe. In noting the absence of capitalist relations in the precolonial period, the participants in the conference held by a number of communist and worker parties in African countries (1978) drew the conclusion that "in Africa capitalism is the product and legacy of foreign domination and colonialism," and that "as a social system, capitalism has not sunk profound national roots in the majority of African countries to this day."

Naturally, we cannot deny the trend within African society toward capitalism any more than we could deny the enclave-superficial nature of its development. All of this distorts the natural-historical process of class formation without, however, being able to stop the effect of universal and objective laws.

In a situation in which the process of class formation in many African countries has not been completed, the political functions of the existing classes may temporarily be performed and sometimes are indeed performed by intermediary social strata (or a specific superstructural institution such as the armed forces). Given the deeply archaic nature of the base and the poor social differentiation in the superstructure, the interaction and confrontation among global trends of socioeconomic development are refracted as through a lens in terms of internal processes. The political forces which control the power institutions define the direction of their countries and establish a new base oriented toward the basic opportunity for a choice of opposite (capitalist or socialist) future development of production forces and production relations in the contemporary world, actively supporting (including legislatively) some of them while restricting and blocking others.

It is important to note this circumstance, for present-day Africa, despite a major thrust forward, largely remains on the periphery of the global capitalist system, and its most backward link, as well as a focal point of poverty, archaic relations and ignorance. Twenty-one of the 31 countries which the United Nations classified as least developed in terms of per capita population in 1981 were African.

Global capitalism is equivocal in its perception of and reaction to the bourgeois development of the African countries. As a sociopolitical system, imperialism is trying to raise a new bourgeois generation here. Meanwhile, the multinational corporations (by virtue of the unchanging nature of capital in economic relations) strangle literally in the cradle the "young" capitalism developing on African soil. Therefore, the struggle for national independent development by following the capitalist way and for capitalism without neocolonialism leads at least part of the local bourgeoisie into a clash with imperialism and objectively gives the foreign policy of many countries on the continent an anti-imperialist coloring. The African communists hold the view that "with a proper and consistent national policy pursued by the state-capitalist sector, even in countries with capitalist orientations, an anti-imperialist direction may be acquired. Under the pressure of the popular masses, progressive measures and reforms are possible, although limited, in such countries." Therefore, the latent trend toward the transformation of anticolonialism into anti-imperialism has an objective nature and could be considered as a potential reserve for socialist orientation, even in countries which are trying today to outline a path leading to a bourgeois system.

It was precisely in Africa that the dynamism and promising nature of the socialist orientation were manifested with particular strength. Only one-quarter of all Africans live in countries supporting this system.

Naturally, we must not ignore the objective contradiction of this phenomenon. For a long time the course of anticapitalist change took place under the conditions of African economic dependence on the global capitalist system. The development of commodity-monetary relations as an incentive for the development of production forces is fraught with the strengthening of the petit bourgeois element which can stymie the revolution; the excessive emphasis placed on national liberation tasks to the detriment of problems of social liberation could develop into reactionary nationalism; absolutizing the need for centralizing threatens to alienate the political leadership from the popular masses, the development of bureaucratization, and so on. All of these contradictions, to which we must add subjective errors and adverse circumstantial developments, are energetically used by exploiting reactionary and counterrevolutionary elements for the sake of discrediting, undermining and reversing the process of socialist orientation. Although in a number of cases the socialist orientation has been temporarily interrupted as a result of the reactionary-nationalistic regeneration of the ruling groups, counterrevolutionary intrigues and imperialist pressures, as a whole this trend is becoming an increasingly weighty element of the global revolutionary process.

What are the socioclass changes on which the revolutionary transformations on African soil are based? What is the specific nature through which the general laws governing the formation and behavior of social groups and political forces are manifested here? What new contributions are being made to the theory of the global revolutionary process and the treasury of the historical experience acquired in the course of the struggle waged by mankind for social progress by the dialectical-materialistic interpretation of these problems?

As we pointed out, the overwhelming majority of the rural African population is related through communal ties. Because of its divisions, the African peasantry (particularly where no armed liberation struggle had taken place) was a kind of inertial pedestal for political processes, for which reason others "represented" it in the superstructural area. It was the local pro-bourgeois elements and the patriotic segment of the intelligentsia who were these "others" in the stage of the anticolonial struggle and the choice of a path of development.

The bourgeois elements in the African countries develop above all not in the area of industrial production but in services, commerce, speculation in real estate and marketable output. They consist of merchants, usurers, middlemen and private businessmen (the brokerage bourgeoisie in Senegal and other countries), rural merchants and urban officials, who have purchased equipment and who cultivate with its help the land of the surrounding population, for which they collect a considerable share of the crops (the Guinean tractor bourgeoisie) tribal leaders, who have turned previously public land into a source of private profit (the plantation bourgeoisie in the Ivory Coast), exporters (the tea bourgeoisie in Malawi) financed with international capital, and others.

The most important characteristic in contemporary Africa is the establishment of the so-called bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the state apparatus, which is a bulwark for reaction, neocolonialism and counterrevolution. By controlling key economic and political mechanisms, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie plays the role of an integrating force in terms of the other groups of local exploiters as well as a link between them and international imperialism. It is the main booster of capitalist development and is a threat in countries with a socialist orientation as well.

The African bourgeoisie is developing considerably more slowly than the working class which, during the colonial period, was exploited mainly from the outside by the mother country capitalists and in a few countries by colonials who had moved to the country. Following the proclamation of independence, the local bourgeois "vacuum," which had developed in the economy and the administrative apparatus, was hastily filled by enterprising local businessmen. The process of the bourgeoisification of merchants, brokers, prosperous peasants, homeowners, the white-collar upper crust, and so on, was considerably energized. The "warm seats" of the representatives of foreign business and colonial administrations were up for grabs. Imperialism encouraged such stock-jobbing. The strategic objective of neocolonialism was, in the words of A. Cabral, leader of the revolution in Guinea-Bissau, to erect "an obstacle on the path of the revolution" with the help of the "local bourgeoisie or pseudobourgeoisie, controlled by the ruling class of the dominating country." However, the lack of adequate capital, organizational experience and even competition on the global market, considering the extremely low capacity of the local market, were objective hindrances which blocked the development of this trend.

As the booster of capitalist development, the African bureaucratic bourgeoisie can historically precede the appearance of national industrial enterprise.

Such continuity and the specific phenomenon of the maturing of the local industrial bourgeoisie stemming from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and under the protection of the state sector may be traced, in particular, in Nigeria. This country has the largest number of local capitalists-millionaires in the 35-40-year-old group in Africa and virtually all of them come from the military, state and administrative apparatus with which they are linked. In order to strengthen its positions, the national bourgeoisie was able to use the petroleum boom. In turn, the multinational corporations operating within the individual countries manipulate the actions of an entire stratum of middlemen who are their lobbyists in government institutions. Such is the way in which contradictions ripen among the different factions within the Nigerian bourgeoisie--the national and the mercantile--although the two groups unite when it becomes a question of exploiting the working class and extracting maximal profits.

Conversely, in socialist-oriented countries, methods of an essentially class type of struggle against the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and manifestations of its activities such as bribery, theft, sabotage, negligence, and so on, are being refined. In Ethiopia, for example, a Control Committee of Working People and a Special Working People's Court were recently created as a system

of democratic elective organs in charge of dealing with corruption, theft from the public treasury, use of official positions for personal advantages, and so on.

Unlike the national bourgeoisie, most of the African intelligentsia was unrelated to the commercial area, private ownership or exploitation of someone else's labor. However, its potential role in public life and of power to influence the thoughts and feelings of its compatriots were far superior to the direct economic grounds for social behavior. Aware of the tragic discrepancy between the developing scientific and technical revolution and the restraining nature of illiteracy, ignorance and prejudice among the overwhelming population majority, the young African intelligentsia faced the problem of developing production forces and production relations, the rebirth and reinterpretation of popular traditions and the development of differences within single nations and cultures, based on tribal features and religious differences. Essentially, it finds itself at a crossroads, aware of the need to choose a social orientation.

The differentiation within it intensified with the growth of the revolutionary process. The patriotic, democratic and progressive segment of the African intelligentsia is converting with increasing firmness to the positions of the developing working class and its allies, considering that its vocation is to dedicate its knowledge and capabilities to the struggle to establish the prerequisites for building socialism. "... On the condition that it draws closer to the people," V. I. Lenin wrote on the subject of the intelligentsia, "it could become a major force in this (revolutionary--the author) struggle," for "although helpless in itself, it could give to considerable strata of petit bourgeois and peasants precisely that which they lack: knowledge, a program, leadership and organization" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 11, p 199).

The progressive countries also have reactionary, maliciously aggressive, extreme leftist, cowardly adventuristic and petit bourgeois groups of local intelligentsia. They constitute the ideological nucleus of subversive anti-governmental organizations which, with the help of pseudosocialist and equalitarianist phraseology, demagogic slogans and promises, try to draw into their ranks the politically naive working people and the declassed masses. Frequently this segment of the intelligentsia draws closer to and merges with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Finally, groups of intellectuals who try to keep away from politics and who focus their attention on performing their strictly professional functions may be found in all African countries. Such people, as MESKEREM, the theoretical journal of the Commission on the Organization of the Party of Ethiopian Working People (COPTÉ) wrote, console themselves with the illusion that they are allegedly outside the realm of action of the laws of the class struggle, occupying some kind of "middle" position and occupying a neutral area separating the confronting classes. Actually, they become unprincipled Philistines, "internal exiles," who frequently let themselves be drawn into the net of the counterrevolution through intrigues and tricks.

A special report issued by the Politburo to the Ninth Congress of the Congress of Malagasy Independence Party (1980) titled "The Intelligentsia and the Malagasy Socialist Revolution" noted the increasing role of the progressive national intelligentsia in the struggle for social progress, based on the increased importance of the subjective factor in the global revolutionary process and the strengthening of its traditional relations with the broad popular masses. This referred to the trend which had developed among a substantial number of intellectual workers belonging to the democratic social strata, following the rejection of the neocolonialist course of capitalist orientation by the country, the critical spirit inherent in the Malagasy intelligentsia, the contamination of some of it with petit bourgeois illusions and individualistic thinking, the need to create a scientific center for Marxist research with a view to surmounting such thinking and promoting the ideological education of the masses, and the publication of a monthly party theoretical journal.

Being closely related to its people, the patriotic intelligentsia expresses the hopes and concerns of the petty producer who is above all a working person, thus ideologically clashing with the national bourgeoisie. Obviously, this is one of the important linchpins in the class struggle in the realm of the political superstructure of the liberated countries. This is the origin of the widening gap between the patriotic intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie, which is losing its former revolutionary potential.

Naturally, its lack of personal political experience, the poorly manifested class differentiation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and the relatively fast growth of the intelligentsia in terms of numbers and social influence determine its susceptibility to the moods of the petit bourgeois element. It frequently displays indecision, hesitancy and inconsistency in terms of political views and the class struggle.

Therefore, while assuming ideological positions which express the basic interests of the working class and providing its ranks with knowledge, theory and ideology, the revolutionary African intelligentsia also learns from its best representatives political firmness, endurance, collectivism and mutual aid. It is no accident that the conference of African communists we mentioned noted the trend toward the adoption of the positions held by the patriotic and revolutionary forces by a growing number of members of the intelligentsia who are close to the popular masses, their mastery of basic concepts in Marxist theory and their support of the objectives of socialist change.

The gaining of national independence by the liberated countries meant the advent of a new stage in their development. The tempestuous breakdown of traditional agrarian-artisan structures became its socioeconomic content.

The dilemma of the petty producer, formulated by K. Marx, helps us to understand the inner logic of this process: he is both owner (and in this sense exploiting himself) and a working person (therefore, his own hired worker). As the most widespread social group in the African countries, the petty producer is objectively subjected to the process of a painful internal split, of economic and social differentiation. Basically (if he is "lucky") he may

become a petit and, in the future, a middle or even big bourgeois; the fate of the overwhelming majority of petty producers is loss of ownership of the land and tools, their conversion into nonowners, paupers, whose sole capacity is to work. In a society governed by the laws of a capitalist economy they either find a job and join the ranks of the toiling proletarian class or else inevitably join the army of declassed lumpen proletarians. The lumpen proletarian combines two qualities--that of a nonowner and the nonworking person--which reciprocally strengthen each other and lead their carrier to the brink of antisocial behavior.

The individualistic adventures of the petit bourgeois and the unprincipled herd instinct, as a surrogate of class solidarity among the declassed lumpen environment, fear and envy, hope and despair, adaptability and protest become strangely interwoven in the perception of the world and the political life of such social groups.

Finding himself on the crossroads of the social prospect of enrichment or bankruptcy, the petit bourgeois, as the owner of productive capital still personally involved in labor, is the "embodiment of the social contradiction" (Marx). He is both "bourgeois and people," progressive and conservative. He could take the side of revolutionary forces or find himself in the counter-revolutionary camp. This has always and everywhere been his essence. This occurred in the 19th and the 20th centuries, in both Europe and Africa.

Naturally, the African petit bourgeois is still largely, so to say, "pre-bourgeois" or "semibourgeois," for his labor means are still very archaic, his ties to the market are largely ephemeral (frequently based on direct barter), and his use of outside labor is sometimes sporadic. In any case, he is generally not very different in terms of economic status (living standard of most diula or peddlers, mammies or street merchants, owners of minuscule craft shops, or a standard lower than that of the workers and even some of the peasants) and particularly in terms of real prospects, from the other groups of the African toiling population and is quite removed from the idyllic standards of petit bourgeois prosperity.

Furthermore, as a result of social-property differentiations, the market element, and the policy of probourgeois governments, along with the natural reinforcement of the petit bourgeois stratum, the opposite trend increases--their loss of status and, therefore, essentially, debourgeoisification. The latter frequently conceals the former. Therefore, the distinguishing feature of the African petite bourgeoisie is its characteristic fluidity, instability and quick renovation not necessarily in terms of its transformation into middle, not to mention bigger, bourgeoisie, but rather in terms of reinforcing the ranks of working people deprived of productive capital and pauperized-lumpen strata.

The socialist-oriented countries try to direct the evolution of the petty producer, the peasant, the artisan and the retail trader who does not exploit outside labor into the channel of industrial and procurement-marketing cooperatives, thus leading him beyond the "petit bourgeois or pauper" alternative, along different ways of social development. In turn, the petit

bourgeois element which tends to use outside labor and to lead a parasitical life at the expense of others, is granted the opportunity to work using his own productive capital without becoming the victim of exploitation on the part of foreign companies, banks and firms.

"The petite bourgeoisie," emphasized Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, "can and must make its contribution to national reconstruction under the guidance of the Angolan proletariat and the MPLA-Labor Party. Our party has never set as its task the physical elimination of the petite bourgeoisie. We are fighting only the erroneous and reactionary actions of that part of the petite bourgeoisie which ... tries to disorganize our activities and to sabotage the solution of the most important problems affecting imports of necessary commodities, medicinal drugs, clothing and raw materials, improving trade and organizing production...."

An equally differentiated approach toward petit bourgeois elements is characteristic of the political concept of the COPTE. Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the leader of the Ethiopian revolution, has frequently pointed out that there are different types of merchants and that those who find themselves in the camp of the enemies of the revolution are those who engage in black marketeering with the products of the hard work of the peasants, artisans and workers without investing personal efforts, who misuse the public trust and who undermine the moral foundations and economic potential of the country. However, the logic of the advance of the revolution objectively leads to the fact that "those merchants who, instead of making use of the possibility of supporting their country and fellow citizens while at the same time satisfying their own interests, subject the working people to unrestrained exploitation will be unable to do so for long."

As to the policy of capitalist-oriented countries, it is aimed at encouraging private initiative and creating special funds and development programs for small business (Cameroon, Kenya, Togo, Ivory Coast, Zaire, Gabon, Senegal and others), as well as special associations among small merchants and other petty owners (Ruanda and others) and the artificial encouragement of the production of export crops by the kulak stratum (Liberia, Malawi, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Kenya and others) with a view to creating a so-called "middle class"--a social base of private enterprise economy and bourgeois development.

A tempestuous process of "loss of peasantry" is taking place in the African countries with a capitalist orientation, leading to the growth of a peasant lumpen proletariat. The bulk of the latter does not convert into hired labor because of the weakness of national capital which concentrates mainly on trade, because of skill and general cultural requirements needed of the participants in the modern production process, which have tremendously increased under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Such a declassed peasant leads most frequently a pitiful existence, subsisting on accidental jobs. In a word, this is essentially a precapitalist lumpen status rather than consisting of former dropout workers suppressed by capitalism which, as it were, neither exists nor needs such manpower.

Malawi, a country with a capitalist orientation, in which 95 percent of the 5 million-strong population lives in the countryside, provides a certain idea of the ratios between nonproletarian-working and nonproletarian-parasitical groups within the overall population structure. Thus, the large loans granted by Western countries for the development of tea production in the Lilongue Valley led to the appearance of 3,000 farms owned by Achikumbe kulaks. Here is another example: the construction of a huge cellulose-paper combine by a consortium of six Western European companies deprived entire Malawi tribes of their land and means of subsistence. The South African monopolies are particularly interested in pauperizing the population, for more than one-quarter of the shibalo exiles from Malawi constitute the most rightless and exploited segment of the manpower they import. There are more than 80 paupers per kulak! Such are the social costs of the bourgeois development on African land, encouraged by the imperialist countries and the multinational corporations.

The African lumpen proletariat has shown an ability to follow the reaction. Already during the period of anticolonial struggle waged in Guinea-Bissau "those who could have been described as 'lumpen proletarians' had a true proletariat existed" (Cabral), helped the Portuguese police and acted as its informers. In Mozambique declassed elements and professional criminals in particular were used by the secret police as spies in an effort to subvert FRELIMO from within and to compromise it through specially organized provocations. While acknowledging the participation of the urban lumpen proletariat in the anticolonial struggle, the Angolan leaders also quite clearly noted the inability of the lumpen proletariat to engage in independent revolutionary action and the increasingly tangible harm caused to the revolution by the extremism, disorganization and distortion of party slogans by the lumpen proletariat.

Urged on by the reaction, occasionally the lumpen proletariat in countries with a socialist orientation opposes the course of planned creation of material and technical prerequisites for socialist development. Such was the case with the Congo at the beginning of 1970. "The lumpen proletarians would like jobs not tomorrow but today," ETUMBA, the central organ of the Congolese Labor Party wrote at the time. "Their bitterness is used by those who tirelessly whisper to them that those who have jobs eat and forget the others. The purpose of such speeches is clear. They would like to reduce the revolution to economism rather than to the pursuit of an economic policy. They would like to reduce the revolution to a disorderly, unplanned creation of new enterprises only for the sake of putting the people to work."

The fate of the lumpen proletariat is related to the type of social orientation of the African countries. The bourgeois way creates and intensifies the ruination of the peasantry, increased unemployment and increased loss of class status. The African revolutionary democrats realize that the real path toward resolving the lumpen proletariat problem is the setting up of production cooperatives oriented toward socialist development by the peasants and artisans.

Despite their large numbers, neither the petit bourgeois nor the pauper-lumpen strata can become the leading and main force of the revolutionary process in Africa. Their spontaneous protest could be channeled into organized and purposeful antiexploitation struggle by the developing working class alone.

The development of a national working class in the liberated African countries takes place under specific conditions and has a key significance, which will become decisive in the future, in defining the nature of the political struggle on the continent.

The speed at which the working class will develop depends on the pace of development of industry and modern agricultural production. The growth rates of African industry average 6 percent per year or triple the respective indicator in agriculture and double the annual natural population growth. However, the rapidly increasing capital intensiveness of contemporary world production objectively hinders the high pace of development of a local working class. Countries possessing scarce natural resources find it easier to make a "breakthrough" in developing their own industrial pace. Thus, in Nigeria the size of the organized working class has increased by a factor of approximately 40 over the past 20 years, reaching 4 million people.

Some researchers (referring to Lenin's definition of classes) try to establish a kind of "threshold," a "critical mass" of workers in the modern liberated countries, on the basis of which, in their view, the working class "begins" to exist as a class. They have set, for example, the figure of 50,000 to 100,000 people. This approach unwittingly reminds us of Xenon's famous aporia, regarding how many rocks there must be before a pile can "begin".... The size of the working class, naturally, plays a major role as a factor in the real political struggle. However, the level of the concentration of the proletariat in large enterprises and urban centers plays an equally important role.

In the Congo the numerically small working class (6 percent in 1961, 10 percent in 1973 and 12 percent in 1977 in terms of the active population) played a decisive role in the overthrow of the system controlled by the abbot Jules. One of the important factors was the concentration of most of it (85 percent) not only in the large enterprises but in the two main cities in the country--Brazzaville and Point-Noire.

In analyzing the establishment and development of an African working class we should not forget the characteristics of the process compared with Western Europe in the age of the development of the bourgeois system, and its dependence on the type of social orientation adopted by one African country or another.

In Western Europe, before becoming a worker, the peasant was deliberately bankrupted and turned into a pauper, and brutally "skinned." It was only when the pauper who had lost his peasant status had nothing left but his ability to work that once again he was coerced into putting on the oil-stained worker's jacket (under the threat of being hanged for vagrancy).

As late as 30 to 40 years ago the colonizers in Africa could take the peasant away from his land even for a long while and force him to become a worker for a few weeks or even months. Taxes and labor conscription were introduced to this effect. Subsequently, as traditional agriculture broke down a flood of temporary migrants and seasonal workers, the so-called "target workers," poured into the cities.

Today the African peasant, "stuck" in his distant historical past, needy, hungry and ignorant, occasionally looks at the worker with envy, as a lucky person who has been able to avoid the idiocy of rural life. The African peasant yearns to become a worker, even at the risk of becoming a pauper or a lumpen proletarian. The "city lights" tempt him, although to many of his kind they bring disappointment, broken hopes and stagnation at the social "bottom."

The cadre proletariat which naturally covers the various levels of establishment and develops as a class "in the course of struggle and progress" (Lenin) began to develop only after the overwhelming majority of countries on the continent acquired their political independence. These stages are distinguished by a variety of features.

The young African working class includes members of frequently reciprocally hostile tribes and ethnic groups, practitioners of different religious faiths and animistic cults, and people of quite different social backgrounds. It is only gradually that the "tribal people" become "factory people," "professional people" and, finally, "class people."

Whereas in the mid-19th century the toiling proletariat in Western Europe was considered by public opinion as a class which suffered from the arbitrariness of the privileged bourgeoisie (an aspect emphasized by utopian socialists), today the bourgeois sociologists are trying to depict the young African working class as a privileged class compared with the suffering peasantry and the lumpen proletariat. Quite peculiarly, they are joined in this by the left radical ideologues who reflect the feelings of the declassed masses and the anarchically leaning petit bourgeois. They tend to identify the African proletariat with the labor aristocracy and to accuse it of "bourgeoisification." They try to set on it the crowds of angered lumpen proletarians and paupers. Together with the lumpen proletariat, the politically immature and inert peasantry occasionally is proclaimed as the leading force in the African revolution, allegedly performing the role which the founders of scientific socialism had once assigned to the proletariat, for they have "nothing to lose" in the struggle of the future. The African reformist-revisionist theoreticians, in turn, proclaim the entire population on the continent as belonging to the proletariat exploited on a global scale by the "industrially developed countries."

The proletariat in countries with a capitalist orientation is spontaneously developing as a "class within itself," exploited by the bourgeoisie (mostly the Western rather than national). However, it does not become involved in industrial capitalism, which is based on the utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, but in local capitalism, based

on commerce and "servicing" overseas corporations that are experiencing particularly acutely the waste of manpower and man himself characteristic of bourgeois production in general (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 47, p 186, a phenomenon which sometimes assumes huge proportions.

Furthermore, since the majority of the African proletariat consists of "first-generation" workers, these workers are unable to abandon peasant illusions of having their own "farms." Sometimes this feature is used by the bourgeoisie. In order to lay a base of social support among workers, the entrepreneurs (as is the case, for example, in Zambia's clothing industry), frequently subsidize experienced and skilled workers, offering them loans to establish their own "businesses" or miniworkshops in which they (together with their families and relatives and sometimes with the help of outside workers) work during their free time, becoming half proletarians and half petit bourgeois.

Scientific socialism appeared long before the development of an African proletariat as a result of which the latter has yet to master this theoretical weapon which is new to it. The political awakening of the toiling proletariat in the African countries with a capitalist orientation and the development of a scientific ideology within it are related to the establishment and activities of communist and worker and, in a number of cases, revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations supporting the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

As to the working class in socialist-oriented countries, although it is subjected to a certain extent to indirect exploitation through the mechanism of the global capitalist economy, it develops under the conditions of a revolutionary democratic state even without its social opposites--the national bourgeoisie. Occasionally the revolutionary vanguard parties are formed even before the vanguard class itself. By virtue of such reasons the establishment of a local working class may immediately take the direction of becoming a "class within itself" as an active subject of historical action.

The number of constructive and creative tasks contributes to the arsenal of political means of struggle waged by the young working class in socialist-oriented countries. This presumes the use of new means for their implementation. For this reason, most frequently resorting to strikes in the state economic sector is not in the interest of the workers themselves. However, the counterrevolutionaries try to provoke strikes by the working class, demagogically proclaiming strikes a universal, a nonhistorical attribute of its very existence.

The overall dominant trend is one of strengthening the cadre nucleus, the growth of literacy and skills and the enhancement of the consciousness and organization of the young African working class and an increase in the role it plays in the global revolutionary process. "Objectively, to an increasing extent the working class becomes the defender of the interests of all working people. From economic struggle for their own rights and interests, numerous proletarian detachments turn to political action against neocolonialism, local reaction and international imperialism," the document issued at the conference of African communists states.

The question of the alliance with the peasantry is a key political problem facing the young working class on the continent. The overwhelming majority of Africans live in the countryside. Despite the excessive urbanization and accelerated industrial development, the African rural population doubled over the past 20 years. By the year 2000 it may reach 500 million.

Let us reemphasize that increased social differentiation and aggravation of class contradictions in the countryside are characteristic in capitalist-oriented countries. On such grounds the processes of pauperization and loss of class by the population predominate over the processes of bourgeoisification of small producers.

Conversely, in socialist-oriented countries, as a result of granting the peasants land and taking special steps in the fight against poverty, a relative and absolute increase in the number of small landowners usually takes place. Therefore, the danger that a petit bourgeois element may appear (along with its ideological currents) is basically greater here than the threat of pauperization, not to mention the lumpenizing of the peasantry.

Efforts are being made to use the collectivistic potential of traditional communal structures as sociopsychological foundations for basic agrarian changes. Eight thousand udjamaa, described as socialist and covering virtually all peasants, were created in Tanzania following the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration (1967). The charter of the Malagasy socialist revolution (1975) proclaimed the traditional fokonolona to be the base for the local unification of the Malagasy peasantry.

A more efficient class policy is pursued in the countryside wherever the socialist-oriented leadership is in the hands of the vanguard party which has taken the positions of the working class: the peasant masses are freed from the arbitrary rule of tribal and rural chiefs, kulaks, middlemen and usurers. The solution of this problem may vary from country to country but its essence remains the same: consolidation of the peasantry as a class, creation of local power organs controlled by the working people of a peasant soviet type, based on the poorest strata, development of cooperatives and the creation of state farms as a public form of upsurge of production forces and a radical change in production relations in the African countryside.

In Mozambique, for example, the program for the organization of collective villages drafted by the FRELIMO party is being implemented. Each of these has its rural council and cooperative, including land, schools, medical centers, cooperative stores, a craft workshop, and collective gardens and truck gardens. More than 1 million peasants are already inhabiting such settlements.

In accordance with the MPLA-Labor Party program, 3,500 peasant associations have been set up in Angola, numbering more than 400,000 people, and some 300 production farming cooperatives totaling about 50,000 people. A trend could be noted toward the expansion of peasant associations beyond local narrow boundaries, including even the development of peasant consumer unions on the provincial level.

The peasant movement in Ethiopia is headed by the All-Ethiopian Peasant Association, which numbers approximately 23,000 primary cells. Some 4,000 consumer and more than 800 production cooperatives have been set up on their bases.

The socialist countries help the socialist-oriented countries in organizing state farms for the production of agricultural commodities. Such farms become the bridgeheads of the working class in the countryside. The radical changes which are taking place there are assisted by the fact that from age-old social lethargy the largest and most deprived part of the population living on the African continent is awakening.

The gradual progress of the African revolution and the solution of its objective conflicts are taking place in the course of the increasing confrontation between political forces.

The specific ratios among different socioclass groups, compared with previous historical situations, the nature of the political functions they perform, and the substantially increased role of the superstructure in the reorganization of the base as well as the effect of external conditions on the ripening of internal prerequisites for progressive development are refracted through the effect of the general sociological laws prevailing in contemporary Africa. Their study enriches Marxist-Leninist theory with new experience. It intensifies and concretizes the study of one of the key political problems of our time and, therefore, the general laws governing the global revolutionary process.

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MOST IMPORTANT TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN 1982

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 105-116

[Review by Yu. Molchanov and V. Nekrasov]

[Text] 1982 was a rich year in major events affecting the life of the Soviet people, our great multinational state and the world. The Soviet people worked energetically and persistently to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, multiplying the wealth of their homeland and thus strengthening its international positions. The Soviet state reached the 65th anniversary of the Great October Revolution at the peak of its power. The celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR was a vivid confirmation of the outstanding successes of the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and a celebration of the fraternal friendship among all nations and nationalities in the country building communism. The entire world perceived and interpreted this anniversary as a unique inspiring example of internationalism in practice.

On the international level, 1982 was a rather difficult and complex year. There was intensive confrontation between the two lines in world politics throughout the year. The reactionary imperialist circles which rule U.S. foreign policy, relying on a system of aggressive military blocs, pursued a militant great-power course. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries and all forces of progress steadfastly continued to oppose it with a line of strengthening the positions of socialism, democracy and peace and support of the basic interests of the working people and the very future of mankind.

As confirmed by the experience of the postwar decades, the effect of the basic trends in sociopolitical development is manifested differently during the different periods, depending on a number of factors, while international relations go through certain stages in the course of which their normalizing is replaced by increased tension. Today the confrontation between the two lines in global politics is crossing a stage of aggravation which has left its specific mark on 1982 international circumstances.

As was the case during the preceding period, the main feature in 1982 was the determining impact of the basic laws of social development on economic, social and political processes in our time, which, while continuing increasingly to change the ratio of forces in the world arena, are clearly proving the tremendous constructive possibilities of socialism.

The year brought new confirmation of the historical superiority of the socialist social system over the system of private ownership and exploitation. This is confirmed most clearly by the accomplishments of the land of the soviets in 1982.

Major economic and social problems were resolved. The national income increased. Industry maintained a good pace. The construction of a number of the greatest projects of our time proceeded successfully. The rural workers achieved good results despite adverse weather conditions, thus making their initial contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the USSR Food Program it adopted, and the decisions of the 26th party congress.

The unbreakable unity between party and people and their resolve to follow their charted path firmly and steadfastly is a guarantee that the tremendous and difficult tasks facing our country will be implemented successfully. The invincible unity between party and people was manifested with new emphasis during the days of mourning of November 1982, when the Soviet party members and all working people parted with the late L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding political and state leader of our time. The arrival in Moscow of more than 150 summit delegations representing more than 100 countries and communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, who paid their respects to the late leader of our party and state, was, essentially, proof of the tremendous universal reputation enjoyed by our homeland, the acknowledgement of its historical contribution to the progress of mankind and a high rating of the peaceful foreign policy pursued by the USSR.

The continuity of the course charted by the Leninist party in the implementation of the domestic and foreign policy tasks earmarked at the 26th congress was firmly asserted at the extraordinary 12 November CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The plenum unanimously elected Comrade Yu. V. Andropov CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The regular 22 November CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which considered the draft 1983 State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR 1983 budget, made a profound analysis of the condition of the Soviet economy. In his plenum speech, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov described the difficulties and shortcomings in the development of the country's national economy, indicated the ways and means to surmount them and emphasized that the party considers the steady upsurge of the economy and well-being of the people its duty to the Soviet people as well as its international duty. The plenum noted that in order to resolve vitally important problems of further development in Soviet society we must create the type of economic and organizational conditions which would stimulate qualitative productive work, initiative and enterprise.

Topical problems of the international situation and USSR foreign policy were thoroughly considered at the plenum. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, "Soviet foreign policy was and remains consistent with the decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses. Ensuring a durable peace and defending the rights of nations to independence and social progress remain the

invariable objectives of our foreign policy. In the struggle for such objectives, the leadership of the party and the state will act in a principled, consistent and considerate manner."

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November plenum met with broad international response. The global press particularly noted the measures aimed at the stable and confident development of the Soviet economy, emphasizing that concern for the well-being of the Soviet people remains the most important programmatic stipulation of the CPSU. All peace-loving forces on earth welcomed the assurance that the foreign policy course pursued by the USSR will remain unchanged.

The other members of the socialist comity as well resolved important problems of economic and social development in 1982. During the past month they increased their economic and scientific and technical potential and ensured the enhanced material and cultural standards of their peoples.

As always, the fraternal countries paid great attention to improving their cooperation and further strengthening the unity within their ranks. The socialist comity has tremendous constructive possibilities which must be utilized as fully as possible.

The exchanges of party and party-state delegations with the participation of the leaders of the fraternal parties and the summit meetings among their heads, which took place in the last period of the year, convincingly proved the unity of views shared by the communist parties and the peoples of the comity on ways leading to the further development of comprehensive mutual cooperation, accelerated pace of socioeconomic change and successful implementation of the tasks formulated at party congresses. The importance of closely coordinating the activities of the socialist countries in the field of foreign policy was confirmed.

Most of the members of the socialist comity reached a new important stage. They faced the need to give a new impetus to their socioeconomic progress on the basis of the proper combination of the interests of the individual countries and the comity at large through further advancement of their cooperation. The problems which arise in the course of building developed socialism and communism, problems which can be resolved through the intensification of integration relations and the socialist division of labor, call for the formulation of a new growth strategy by the fraternal countries. This is demanded by the tasks stemming from the historically confirmed Leninist stipulation that victorious socialism exerts its main impact on the global revolutionary process through its economic policy. Finally, it is also a question of comprehensively taking into consideration the class confrontation between the two social systems, the aggravation of the international situation and the pressure applied by imperialism.

Guided by the aspiration to increase their reciprocal economic relations, the socialist countries proceed from the need to take new steps in production cooperation, which would benefit both their overall national economic complexes and the individual enterprises and labor collectives. In this respect

the 36th CEMA Session, which was held in Budapest on 8-10 June, constituted an important step along this way. New practical measures aimed at encouraging production intensification and unifying the efforts along the decisive directions of scientific and technical progress were approved at the congress. A program for coordinating the national economic plans of CEMA-member countries for 1986-1990 was adopted.

Throughout 1982 intensive preparations continued for summit meetings among heads of fraternal parties, in accordance with the suggestion made at the 26th CPSU Congress, which was supported by the other parties. This involved drawing closer the structures of their economic mechanisms, further development of direct relations between ministries, associations and enterprises participating in cooperative ventures, and so on. In the course of this work the fraternal countries ascribe great importance to expanding the current coordination of plans with a coordinated economic policy as a whole, and possibilities of intensifying and expanding their interaction along general promising directions of scientific and technical progress capable of revolutionizing production processes.

In 1982 the members of the socialist comity paid most serious attention to the intrigues on the part of imperialist circles aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of our peoples and undermining their revolutionary gains, which required a firm rebuff. The wedge of these intrigues, as was the case in 1981, was aimed at the Polish People's Republic.

The hopes of the antisocialist forces, manifested at the beginning of the year within the Polish People's Republic and their inspirers in Washington and other imperialist centers, to the effect that they would be able to provoke a mass opposition on the part of the Polish population to the state of martial law decreed by the State Council, turned out to be quite unrealistic. As a result of the measures taken by the Polish leadership, based on its assessment of the situation, gradually the circumstances in the country took a turn for the better. A change in the economic situation was noted: after 2 years of decline in the volume of industrial output, a certain growth was noted starting with the autumn of 1982. The help provided by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and the expanded economic cooperation with them contributed to the healing of the Polish economy. The new law on trade unions passed by the Sejm, consistent with the constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic, was a definite factor in normalizing public life. Taking into consideration these and other positive changes which had taken place in the country's circumstances, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic decided to lift the state of martial law as of the end of December.

The measures taken by the Polish leaders and the solidarity with people's Poland shown by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, standing on the firm international positions of the collective defense of the revolutionary gains of their peoples against imperialist intrigues, played a decisive role in the failure of the aggressive imperialist plans concerning the Polish People's Republic.

Last year, problems of Sino-Soviet relations played a particular role in the overall picture of international relations and in Soviet foreign policy. Aware of its responsibility for the fate of peace and the state of the international situation, and invariably displaying good will, the Soviet Union favored and continues to favor normalizing relations with the PRC. The ideas formulated by L. I. Brezhnev in Tashkent and Baku and his emphasis on common sense and on the need to surmount the inertia of prejudices was a manifestation of the belief of our party and its aspiration to look ahead in terms of resolving this problem as well.

The Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that some positive changes took place last year in Sino-Soviet relations. In particular, the situation along the border between the USSR and the PRC became calmer; problems of navigation along the border sections of the rivers were given new solutions; and an agreement was reached on the resumption of border trade. Sino-Soviet consultations on problems of intergovernmental relations affecting the two countries, which were resumed after a lengthy interruption, deserve particular attention.

The socialist world is in a state of steady progress, resolving increasing new problems. The good will displayed by both sides and respect for their legitimate interests as well as common concern for the cause of socialism and peace and the well-being of the people are the main guideline of the socialist countries in pursuit of their further progress.

The picture which the capitalist world presented in 1982 was different. Here the basic laws governing a temporary social development were manifested in the further intensification of the general crisis. Not since the 1930s had the economic decline experienced by the capitalist countries reached such a level of gravity and broad scale.

All efforts on the part of the capitalist governments to stop the growth of the crisis failed; the forecasts of any noticeable economic growth proved to be false. In the United States alone, in the first half of 1982, industrial production dropped by 8 percent. In the Western European countries it froze at the low 1981 level. A wave of bankruptcies, unparalleled in the postwar years, rolled over the capitalist countries.

The toiling masses were the principal victims of these difficulties. By the end of the year the army of unemployed in the developed capitalist countries exceeded 30 million people, according to official data. Therefore, during the past 3 years the number of unemployed increased by a factor of approximately 1.5. However, the official figures do not reveal the true situation, especially considering the number of unemployed persons in construction, processing, and so on. For example, while officially there are 12 million registered unemployed in the United States, the total number actually reaches 20 million.

The economists, bourgeois included, who predict that the economic difficulties and further growth of unemployment will continue in 1983 point to the burden of rapidly increasing military expenditures as the basic factor which hinders the normal functioning of the economy.

The crisis is having an increasingly adverse effect on the economies of the liberated countries, to whose shoulders the developed capitalist countries again persistently tried to shift their difficulties in 1982. The low prices of export commodities, the tremendously high foreign indebtedness which reached \$540 billion, high loan rates and interest and the higher cost of imported goods were the characteristic features of the economic difficulties experienced by the liberated countries. Imperialism literally plundered them from the financial-economic viewpoint. For example, it has been estimated that the profits extracted by the monopolies of the developed capitalist countries from Asian, African, and Latin American countries on an annual basis exceed the overall flow of capital from Western countries by nearly 100 percent.

A characteristic feature of 1982 was the increased social tension which led to the aggravation of the class confrontation in the capitalist world. The social base for strikes broadened. Nonproletarian toiling detachments became increasingly involved in active struggle. It is particularly noteworthy that over the past few months there has been a combination of requirements and slogans of a social nature and actions in the defense of peace and urging an end to the arms race, supplementing each other with increasing frequency.

As always, the communists and workers parties, loyally serving the cause of progress and social liberation of the masses, were in the vanguard of the struggle for the basic interests of the toiling people and against the offensive of monopoly capital against the living standard and the social gains of the working people and for democratization of political life and the preservation and consolidation of peace.

The economic crisis continued to aggravate the political instability in the capitalist countries and led to the intensification of the political struggle. A number of efforts were made by the right wing and, occasionally, by frankly reactionary profascist circles to mount an offensive. Antidemocratic laws, including some affecting the vital interests of the working people, strict laws depriving the trade unions of the right to strike, police reprisals against demonstrators who defended the right to work and urged an end to racial discrimination and other similar actions became increasingly typical of the circumstances in the United States, Great Britain and other countries. An attempt at a military coup d'etat, the second during the past 18 months, was defeated in Spain. It was planned for the eve of the parliamentary elections which were held on 28 October. Aligned with the socialists, the bourgeois parties were able to achieve a major revision of the 1976 Portuguese constitution, which codified the main revolutionary gains of the people.

A no-confidence vote in the FRG Bundestag led to the fall of the coalition government of social democrats and free democrats which had ruled the country for 13 years. As a result of a betrayal of the coalition on the part of the free democrats, it was replaced by a government headed by the chairman of the right-of-center Christian Democratic Union. Thus it was a parliamentary combination which was the direct reason for a change of government in the FRG, whereas the voting masses remained totally uninvolved.

As a whole, however, despite the efforts of the right-wing forces to take over political control in the Western European countries, a certain left-of-center turn was characteristic in 1982. In this connection, we must recall that this is the second year during which an alliance among leftist forces, involving communist participation, is in power in France. Last year the Spanish Socialist Workers Party won a firm victory in the parliamentary elections and formed a new government at the end of the year. The democratic forces achieved convincing success in the Greek municipal elections, thus consolidating the 1981 parliamentary election victory. The participation of the communists in the local power organs expanded significantly. Elections for the local power organs in Portugal resulted in a defeat of the reaction. The Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party was returned to parliament with an absolute majority. The Dutch Social Democratic Labor Party achieved a certain success in the parliamentary elections.

The broad popular masses in the United States are displaying their discontent with the domestic and foreign policy of the current administration with increasing clarity. This was confirmed by the impressive defeat suffered by the Republican Party in the 2 November midterm elections. The party lost 20 seats in the House of Representatives and a significant number of gubernatorial positions. The overwhelming majority of the participants in the referendum on freezing the production, development and deployment of nuclear weapons, which was held in a number of states, cities and electoral districts in the country along with the elections, voted in favor of the freeze and against the administration's policy.

Let us note among the main characteristics in the development of international relations in 1982 the worsening of the situation, the increased threat of war and the alarming tension which were the direct consequence of the activities of the most reactionary imperialist circles, which undertook to attain the unattainable: to turn the course of the historical confrontation between the two systems at all costs, to achieve social revenge, to regain their lost positions, to terminate the global liberation process and to assert their global rule. This was manifested particularly clearly in the foreign policy course of the present U.S. leadership, whose policy is extremely militaristic and reactionary compared with the line followed by all postwar administrations in Washington.

Last summer U.S. President Reagan loudly proclaimed the political concepts guiding his administration. He called upon all the forces of international imperialist reaction to launch a "crusade" against real socialism and the forces of national and social liberation. Anticommunist "crusades" have been frequently launched in the past as well. They are far from being a feature of capitalist strength, the efforts of reactionary propaganda to depict them as such notwithstanding. Imperialism is taking up extreme measures and urging armaments and a most dangerous and risky course under circumstances of increasing general crisis, severe economic upheavals, drastic aggravation of domestic social conflicts and weakened international positions. Reagan's appeal for a "crusade" is an indication of alarm and emergency in the imperialist camp and a desperate attempt to mount a global counterattack now and to block the path of the powerful revolutionary currents which are

transforming the sociopolitical aspects of the world. Understandably, imperialism is unable to stop historical progress and turn history back. However, it is still able to cause mankind incalculable harm, for today the imperialist military has huge mass-destruction weapons the use of which could have tragic consequences.

In practical terms the imperialist "crusade" represents an unprecedented arms race in the hope of attaining military superiority over the USSR and, incidentally, exhausting its economy. It represents a political, economic and ideological offensive against real socialism. Finally, it means the encouragement of internal conflicts in various parts of the world, intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries, and fierce suppression of the struggle waged by the peoples for their rights, freedom and independence.

With maniacal persistence, issuing totally false fabrications on the "Soviet threat," the administration in Washington steadily increased its military efforts, urging on the arms race and, in the final account, trying to eliminate the military-strategic parity which has developed in the world. In particular, the long-term program for updating the U.S. "triad" of strategic nuclear armaments, approved in 1981 and consisting of ground-based missiles, nuclear missile-launching submarines and strategic bombers, continued. President Reagan accepted the "dense pack" system of deployment of intercontinental MX ballistic missiles--a new first-strike nuclear weapon. The construction of a series of huge Trident nuclear submarines continued. New B-1 bombers and long-range cruise missiles were built. The press reported that the United States had undertaken the production of neutron warheads and that the Pentagon intended to increase its general nuclear arsenal. The manufacturing of medium-range missiles was undertaken overseas. According to NATO's plans, by the end of 1983 they will be deployed in a number of Western European countries.

The fact that the United States is undertaking the production of basically new types of mass-destruction weapons, thus initiating a qualitatively new round in the arms race, is a major threat to mankind. The Reagan administration announced the adoption of an extensive chemical rearmament program, costing billions of dollars. Particular hopes are placed in the so-called binary gas, one kilogram of which could destroy a million people. Naturally, the Pentagon hopes to use such mass-destruction weapons not in the United States but on the territory of that same Western Europe which is considered a theater of military operations and for which a "limited" nuclear war is being planned.

The United States has undertaken the implementation of extensive plans for the military invasion of outer space and its use in future warfare. It was reported that the Columbia spaceship carried military equipment on board in 1982. A special "space command" was set up by the U.S. Air Force as of 1 September to coordinate the outer space activities of various military departments. The threat of militarization of the outer space around the earth is becoming increasingly realistic through the fault of the imperialist militarists.

The international public was greatly concerned by press information on the content of the military-strategic doctrine approved by Reagan, oriented toward achieving victory in a "protracted" nuclear war against the Soviet Union. This, among others, was the purpose of the publicized "Directive Instructions on the Structure of the U.S. Armed Forces" through 1990, which call for possible military operations in various parts of the world involving the use of nuclear weapons and the "destruction of socialism as a world system."

Displaying criminal irresponsibility, official representatives of the Reagan administration continued to discuss nuclear war, particularly in a "local" or "limited" variety, as something quite ordinary and entirely admissible, in an obvious effort to reconcile the public with such a possibility.

In elaborating its adventuristic militaristic doctrines, the present American leadership, judging by all available data, is unwilling to acknowledge the stern reality of our time: relying on victory in a global nuclear war means madness. Such a war could lead to the extinction of all life on earth. It is only by living in a world of illusion that one could engage in such pharmaceutical "dosing" of the scale of a nuclear war in the secret hope that it will break out in Europe or anywhere else in the world without crossing the Atlantic. No such claim is possible.

The political course of extreme total aggravation of the confrontation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and undermining their social systems charted by the United States brought about an increase in international tension. The American president publicly called upon his like-minded supporters to stop at nothing and deploy a global offensive on socialism in order to "throw Marxism-Leninism historically overboard."

Undertaking the practical implementation of its "crusade," the United States drastically energized its efforts to intervene in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries, thus grossly violating elementary norms of international law and stipulations contained in the United Nations charter and the Final Act of the European Conference. It did everything possible to prevent the Polish government from normalizing the situation in the country, openly supporting antisocialist forces and speculating on internal events in Poland for the sake of aggravating the international situation and preventing cooperation among countries. With the help of a variety of "sanctions" and discriminatory measures, the United States and some of its NATO allies made another effort to use international trade and economic relations to harm the progress of the national economies of the USSR, Poland and other socialist countries.

The ideological struggle which the U.S. and major imperialist circles are trying to convert into "psychological warfare" waged against the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, resorting to deliberate lies and malicious disinformation concerning their domestic and foreign policy and social system, became drastically aggravated.

As instructed by the Reagan administration, the United States undertook the implementation of a subversive ideological program at the beginning of 1982,

hypocritically named "Project Truth," with a view to discrediting the Soviet Union. Dirty propaganda campaigns were also organized against people's Poland, the participants in which unceremoniously instructed the Poles as to the type of sociopolitical order they should have in their country.

The United States formulated some kind of "semigovernmental" program with a view, as was reported, "of strengthening democracy in the developing countries and, wherever possible, in the communist states." Another "crusade" step was the "conference on problems of democratizing the communist countries" or, in other words, the restoration of the bourgeois order, sponsored by the U.S. Department of State. Plans are also being drafted for interfering in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries, engaging in subversive actions and destabilizing their system. A particular role is being assigned to the "cloak-and-dagger knights," of the CIA, which Reagan grandly described as "heroes of the sacred war," fighting in the leading ranks of the "crusade."

The new imperialist "crusade" has a broad political and geographic range. It is aimed against anything that is freedom-loving and progressive today. Washington would like no more and no less than to win the liberated nations back, to deprive them of their gains achieved in the course of a long and difficult struggle, and to reduce to naught their role in world politics. It is no accident that the major complications which developed in the international situation last year were also directly triggered by the aggressive actions of the imperialist countries and the forces of global reaction which, grossly violating the independence and sovereignty of various countries, tried to impose upon them their own will, broadening the old hotbeds of military conflicts, creating new problems, and promoting bloody crimes against entire nations.

The undeclared war waged by imperialism and reaction on the people's regime in Afghanistan continued. In the southern part of Africa, the South African regime, supported by the United States, mounted large-scale invasions of Angolan territory. There were continuous provocations against Ethiopia and Mozambique. In Central America the United States intensified its campaign of blackmail and threats against socialist Cuba and free Nicaragua and supported the Salvadoran military.

Imperialism is ready to commit any crime for the sake of preserving and expanding its privileges and suppressing the aspiration of the peoples to defend their sovereign rights. This was clearly confirmed by the new stage reached in the Middle Eastern crisis--Israel's aggression against Lebanon, committed with the blessing and direct support of the United States. The bloody orgy in Beirut and the barbaric killing of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps will enter history alongside the crimes committed by the Hitlerite fascists in Oradour, Babi Yar, and Lidice. Although the immediate objective of the interventionists in Lebanon was to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement and its nucleus--the PLO--and the involvement of Lebanon in the capitalist Camp David deal, the plans pursued through American-Israeli aggression are far broader. We are faced with a new dangerous conspiracy against the entire Arab liberation movement aimed at strengthening the decisive influence of the United States in the Middle East. This was manifested yet once again in the notorious Reagan plan for a Middle Eastern settlement.

A widespread wave of indignation, protest and angry condemnation of the criminal actions committed by Tel Aviv and its overseas protectors, who consider Israel a "strategic ally" in the Middle East and its actions against the patriotic and progressive forces and states in the Arab circle consistent with U.S. imperialist plans, spread throughout the world.

We must point out that the bloodshed in Lebanon, like the military measures taken in the course of the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, which took place several months earlier, seemed to represent a "lesson" which the imperialist powers gave other countries and peoples defending their legitimate rights. However, the times when gunboat diplomacy and bloody terrorism against nations ensured the success of aggressors and colonizers have disappeared forever. Under contemporary conditions, such actions merely worsen the circumstance, trigger the just indignation of the peoples and give them new strength in their patriotic struggle. Also noteworthy is the fact that by majority vote the United Nations once again confirmed the sovereign rights of the Palestinian people.

Therefore, the new "crusade" against the forces of progress, as confirmed by the facts, represents a broad plan, a global imperialist strategy, and an entire system of various means (legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent) aimed at subverting the socialist comity and suppressing freedom and social progress in the various countries and regions on earth. Under present-day conditions this "crusade" not only threatens the international situation with a new aggravation but with even more dangerous consequences to mankind. This is realized by the socialist countries, the communist and worker parties and the progressive and peace-loving forces the world over. Many realistically thinking representatives of influential circles in the big capitalist countries begin to realize this as well.

It is indicative that last year aggravations between the United States and its NATO allies intensified on a number of international problems. Criticism of American foreign policy increased sharply. Most Western European countries are convinced of the usefulness of detente and did not support the U.S. desire to destroy it. They are showing no desire to participate on Washington's order in an aggravated confrontation with the USSR and the other socialist states, or else to abandon mutually profitable trade and economic cooperation. This is exemplified by the adamant resistance on the part of the Western Europeans who prevented the United States from wrecking the implementation of the major "gas-pipes" Soviet-Western European cooperation project.

As WESTFALISCHE RUNDSCHAU wrote, "the difference between the United States and Europe is that here sensible people are still relying on the policy of detente." In turn, the American weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT noted that the Western European response to Reagan's call for a "crusade" was minimal. It was ignored as "unrealistic and inappropriate."

All of this confirms once again that the political course charted by the U.S. administration profoundly clashes with the interests of all countries and nations, including the American, harming international cooperation, which is

so important and needed today, and creating a dangerous threat to universal peace and the future of mankind.

Last year, the forces of imperialist reaction, headed by the ruling U.S. circles, were able dangerously to worsen the situation in the world. However, they were unable to destroy the positive features which developed in international relations during the 1970s, to suppress the trend toward detente and to recreate the Cold War in a novel aspect. Life confirmed that detente is an enduring organism. Its "secret" here is that it is being firmly and consistently supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The neutral and nonaligned countries and the broadest possible political and social circles in various countries and all those who care for peace and realize that there is no acceptable alternative to the policy of detente are in favor of its preservation.

"It is our profoundly felt conviction," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted, "that the 1970s, which took place under the sign of detente, were not, as some imperialist personalities claim today, an accidental event in the difficult history of mankind. No, the policy of detente is by far not a past stage. It has the future on its side."

The tremendous positive impact of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which firmly opposes the aggressive imperialist course and is actively and persistently struggling for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, restraining the arms race and improving circumstances throughout the world, was manifested with new strength. It is precisely the Soviet Union which is credited with the historical initiative of seeking ways to peace and preserving human civilization. Positive trends in international relations find their concentrated expression in its foreign policy actions.

The assessments and stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress, the accuracy and far-sightedness of which have been entirely confirmed by reality, were the principled guideline of USSR foreign policy in the stormy ocean of international events. However, new problems arose demanding immediate solution.

The attack mounted by imperialist reaction against detente, normal relations between socialist and capitalist states and their mutually profitable cooperation and the line of aggravation of international tension were countered by the Soviet Union by a line of preservation of detente and strengthening international security by developing on a broad front a powerful peaceful diplomatic offensive and displaying in its foreign policy principle-mindedness, consistency, initiative, flexibility, firmness and self-control.

The Soviet Union carried out its active efforts in the world arena along with the fraternal socialist countries, coordinating with them both common targets and specific foreign policy actions. This increases even further the substance and effectiveness of socialist international policy. The most topical problems of European and international security were considered at the meeting of the Committee of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Warsaw Pact Members held in Moscow on 21-22 October. The communique issued at the meeting emphasized the common resolve of the socialist states systematically

to pursue a policy of peace, detente and international security, and their aspiration to reach equal and mutually profitable agreements with countries belonging to different social systems.

There was no single significant international problem on which the Soviet Union failed to submit new constructive proposals or formulate important initiatives last year. This applied to problems of political and military detente, restraining the arms race, and the situation in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, the Mediterranean and the world's oceans.

Creatively developing and expanding the peace program for the 1980s, approved by the 26th CPSU Congress, the purpose of the new Soviet initiatives and proposals is to clear the way and provide an impetus for the solution of the most ripe and grave international problems the settling of which would enable us substantially to improve the political atmosphere in the world and to reduce the threat of war. The initiative-minded steps taken by the Soviet government were distinguished by their daring and realistic nature. They were imbued with a clear understanding of the threat created by the developing situation in the world and a high sense of responsibility for the fate of all mankind.

The pledge assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, proclaimed in the message addressed by L. I. Brezhnev to the second special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly, was of truly historical significance. The highly humane nature of this decision is such that, were the Soviet example to be followed by the other nuclear powers, providing that they honored their pledge, the threat of a nuclear missile hurricane which threatens to sweep all life from our planet would be greatly diminished. Furthermore, this would increase the level of trust in relations between socialist and capitalist states, which would contribute to the success of the talks on the total and universal banning and elimination of nuclear weapons. The broadest possible international response to and approval of the Soviet decision throughout the world was natural. It was supported by the socialist countries, the heads of many nonaligned and neutral countries and influential political and social leaders in a number of NATO countries, including the United States.

However, the refusal of the U.S. government and NATO's leadership to follow the Soviet example on the pretext that such a step would allegedly weaken the restraining power of the West and would make war...more likely proved once again their unwillingness to take specific measures to lower the threat of war and to rely on a policy "from a position of strength."

A political dialogue with diplomatic talks among interested countries is the sensible way to settle even the gravest of international problems. Therefore, it is no accident that the present American administration, in its desire to disturb the normal rhythm of intergovernmental contacts, has tried to narrow the channels of political dialogue. The United States has brought to a standstill the talks on imposing a total and universal ban on nuclear weapon tests, banning and eliminating chemical means of warfare, restricting military activities in the Indian Ocean, limiting the arms trade

and measures related to antisatellite systems in outer space. The American leadership and its closest NATO partners have created major difficulties in other international gatherings as well.

Under such circumstances, the Soviet Union has done everything it could to achieve the energizing of the current and the initiation of new political talks on most topical international problems, that of restraining the arms race above all. After an 18-month interruption caused by the United States, Soviet-American talks on limiting and reducing strategic nuclear armaments were resumed. This fact in itself is a positive phenomenon, for the fate of war and peace largely depends on whether or not agreement could be reached between the USSR and the United States on this problem.

Ideally both sides should conduct their talks on the basis of the principles of equality and not harming each other's security, making a real effort to limit and reduce strategic armaments rather than use diplomatic contacts as a cover for a continuing arms race in the hope of disturbing the existing military-strategic parity. It is the view of the USSR that the purpose of the talks is to reach an agreement on specific measures leading to a substantial reduction in strategic armed forces on both sides. It is exceptionally important reliably to block all channels leading to a continuing strategic arms race, to ban the development of new types of such weapons or maximally to restrict them within agreed-upon parameters. In order to prevent the manifestation of new difficulties in the course of the talks, our country has made the specific constructive proposal of "freezing" strategic weapons, quantitatively and qualitatively, on the part of both sides, the moment such talks begin, and not to take steps which could disturb the existing parity.

However, the United States has assumed a one-sided unrealistic position in the talks, clearly aimed at harming the security of the USSR and achieving military superiority. It is obvious that any positive program for a mutual reduction in strategic weapons should be carefully balanced, taking into consideration differences in the structures of the armed forces of each side. However, the essence of the American proposal is that strategic armaments be reduced mainly at the expense of Soviet ground-based missiles, leaving untouched their own strategic bombers, nuclear submarines, programs for the production and deployment of MX intercontinental missiles, and so on.

The Soviet Union has waged a persistent and systematic struggle for the peaceful future of Europe, the preservation and intensification of detente, strengthening mutual trust and developing mutually profitable cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries on the continent.

As the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on medium-range nuclear armaments in Europe indicate, the Soviet Union has stepped forth with a constructive, well-thought-out and substantiated program for limiting and significantly curtailing such types of weapons on a reciprocal basis. The former radical suggestion made by the Soviet government of totally removing from European territory all types of nuclear weapons and making this continent a nuclear-free zone remains in force. The Soviet decision to end the deployment of medium-range missiles which could strike targets in Western European

countries and substantially to reduce the number of such missiles convincingly proves the desire of the USSR to help reach an agreement. The difficulties experienced in the Geneva talks and the fact that they have not as yet yielded desired results may be blamed on that same Washington administration, which is continuing to insist on its notorious "zero option," taking no positive countersteps whatever.

A solution to the problem of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe cannot be reached just by removing the Soviet medium-range missiles, which are an inseparable component of the existing balance of military power in Europe as long as NATO's nuclear medium-range missiles remain in place. As has been repeatedly emphasized on the highest levels, the Soviet Union will not undertake one-sided disarmament, which would give NATO military superiority.

The activities of the Soviet delegation and the delegations of the other fraternal socialist countries at the Vienna talks, which have been under way for more than 9 years, on reducing the size of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe were noted by an active desire to achieve positive results. They have submitted a new constructive draft agreement which includes a number of ideas submitted by the Western partners. However, this time again the latter reacted negatively. The draft which they suggested is essentially a major step backwards. It violates the principles of ensuring the safety of all sides and adopting equal obligations. It reflects everything consistent with NATO's desire to gain a one-sided military advantage over the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet Union is opposed in principle to the concept of military superiority. It does not aspire to achieve this itself nor does it recognize this right for others. The current military-strategic balance which exists between the forces of socialism and capitalism is an achievement of historical significance. Under today's circumstances, it is a great contribution to maintaining peace and restraining aggressive imperialist aspirations.

Should the United States or the NATO bloc try to disturb this parity by deploying MX missiles, placing new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe or employing any other method, the Soviet Union would take all the necessary countermeasures to ensure its own security and that of its allies. As D. F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, emphasized in his answers to the questions asked by a TASS correspondent last December, the American administration "should not become self-hypnotized by the possibility of achieving military superiority over the USSR. Nothing would come of it."

In today's dangerously aggravated international situation and increased imperialist aggressiveness, the communist party and the Soviet government are displaying great vigilance and doing everything necessary to strengthen the country's defense capability. The conference held by the command of the Soviet army and navy, at which most important tasks of upgrading the combat readiness of the USSR armed forces and the defense industry sectors were formulated, reconfirmed this concern.

The Madrid meeting of representatives of participants in the European conference was held during a stubborn and acute struggle. The delegations of the United States and some other NATO countries tried to use this meeting as an arena for acute political confrontation and "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries and intervention in their internal affairs. They opposed the adoption of a final document with all their might.

These attempts were countered by the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the neutral and nonaligned states, which displayed a sincere interest in the fruitful completion of the Madrid meeting and the adoption of a meaningful final document and, particularly, a decision to convene a conference on measures to strengthen trust, security and disarmament in Europe. Their efforts were able to prevent the breakdown of the Madrid meeting, which was part of the plan of the American administration, and the continuation of the work of this important international gathering. The prospects of its completion entirely depend on the good will and responsibility of all participants.

Actively using the United Nations mechanism in the interest of restraining the arms race, the Soviet Union addressed the second special disarmament session of the United Nations General Assembly with a memorandum on "eliminating the growing nuclear threat and restraining the arms race." It also submitted a draft "Basic Stipulations for a Convention on Banning the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and Their Destruction." The Soviet Union submitted new important proposals at the 37th General Assembly, such as the draft resolutions "On the Immediate Cessation and Banning of Nuclear Weapon Tests" and "Increasing Efforts To Eliminate the Effect of Nuclear War and Ensuring the Safe Development of the Nuclear Power Industry."

While steadfastly pursuing a policy of peace, the Soviet Union vigilantly followed the intrigues of imperialist forces and ruling U.S. and NATO circles. It firmly rebuffed acts of aggression and diktat. It gave its firm and consistent support to peoples courageously defending their sovereign rights, freedom and independence. The principled position adopted by the Soviet Union on the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, its energetic actions in support of the Palestinian and Lebanese people, its decisive condemnation of the bloody genocide and piracy committed by the Israeli aggressors and its demand for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the forces of the aggressor from occupied Arab lands made a deep impression on the entire world. The six principles and most important measures presented by L. I. Brezhnev, the implementation of which would open the way to an overall settlement in the Middle East, were highly rated by the Arab countries.

As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov asserted at his meeting with the Arab delegation which visited Moscow, the Soviet Union has always been and will remain on the side of the just cause of the Arab peoples and their struggle against Israeli aggression and for freedom and independence and a just peace in the Middle East.

The principled Soviet foreign policy course of developing friendly relations with the young liberated states, including the participants in the nonaligned movement, and supporting them in their struggle for rescuing themselves from economic dependence and for strengthening their autonomy, was specifically embodied in the course of the talks held last year between Soviet leaders and political leaders and official delegations of a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries and the numerous new agreements concluded on various types of cooperation.

The truly equal and mutually profitable relations between the USSR and India were developed further. In his Kremlin speech on the occasion of the visit which Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the republic of India, paid to the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev especially emphasized that "our friendship and cooperation have become a substantial and beneficial factor in world politics."

One of the significant phenomena in international life last year was the accelerated process of the establishment of an essentially global coalition of antiwar forces on the governmental and social levels, supporting the prevention of nuclear war and organizing life on earth on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. This coalition was developed on the basis of components of different size, of different ideological and political orientation but united by an awareness of the dangers facing the world. So far it has not acquired a clear content and form. Nevertheless, it has become a substantial factor in international life.

The Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity legitimately act as the main guarantors of peace and the leading force in this coalition. The peaceful policy of the socialist comity has earned it throughout the world high respect and reputation based on its principle-mindedness and consistency in its aspiration to reach the objectives, accompanied by the necessary flexibility and readiness for mutually acceptable agreements. Last year the nonaffiliated states and other peace-loving countries cooperated ever more closely with the socialist countries.

The second special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly, which convincingly proved the fact that most governments in the world and the broad public circles are against a militaristic course, developed into a major international forum on the problems of war and peace.

Particularly obvious today is the erroneousness of the concept that everything can be resolved by the force of arms. Today, more than ever before, the people's masses are advancing to the proscenium of history.

An increasing number of honest people on earth are showing a feeling of concern for the future and realizing that mankind finds itself now on a truly most responsible stage in its history and that the new realities in global developments demand of the leading political figures and the broad masses an essentially new approach to the basic international problem of today--surmounting the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. This understanding led to the aspiration to act in a way such as to ensure the survival of mankind.

Popular objection to the aggressive policy of reactionary imperialist circles was heard with increasing anger on all continents in 1982. The tempestuously developing activity of the masses in the struggle against the threat of war was a noteworthy feature during that year. A movement of unparalleled strength and extent developed on the planet aimed against the dangerous foreign policy course taken by the forces of militarism and aggression and for the prevention of the threat of nuclear war triggered by this course.

The movement included representatives of all classes and social strata. It included a broad spectrum of political forces--communists, socialists, Christians, liberals, fighters for environmental protection and some conservative groups. The movement was joined by the already existing and newly created antiwar organizations representing the interests of individual social and professional categories and strata--women, young people, physicians, students, religious leaders, business circles, and so on. The active participation of the trade union organizations in the antiwar movement gave it organization, purposefulness and militancy.

The past year was noted by an unprecedented scope of mass actions on the part of the supporters of the universal public movement against the threat of new war. Large demonstrations were held in France, Great Britain, the FRG, and other European countries. The biggest antiwar demonstration in the entire history of the United States, in which about 1 million people took part, was held in New York on 12 June. The "Peace March '82," which followed the Stockholm-Moscow and Moscow-Vienna itinerary, involving representatives of more than 30 countries, convincingly confirmed the resolve of the peoples to erect an obstacle to nuclear war. All in all, about 20 million citizens of capitalist countries participated in the largest antiwar campaign actions during the spring and the autumn. The International Day for Trade Union Action for Peace, held on 1 September, and the annual international Disarmament Action Week of 24-30 October, were carried out successfully.

The Soviet public, the entire Soviet people, actively participated in the antiwar movement. Determined to have effective disarmament resolutions approved at the special UN General Assembly Session, the Soviet peace supporters held more than 20,000 demonstrations and meetings involving the participation of more than 60 million people. Some 50 million citizens participated in the mass actions during the Disarmament Action Week, showing their approval of the course charted by our party and state toward strengthening the peace, preventing nuclear catastrophe and reliably securing international safety.

Therefore, 1982 witnessed a sharply increased awareness throughout the world of the inevitable fact that a critical moment is approaching after which the prevention of a new gigantic spiral in the nuclear arms race would become impossible. However, it can be prevented. This would require for all those who oppose war and support peaceful coexistence to rally on the basis of a mutually acceptable program, setting aside their differences on one specific problem or another. This is urgently demanded by the vitally important task of saving civilization from nuclear catastrophe.

A difficult and complex year in modern human history has come to an end. Its results confirmed the familiar truth that in the course of the confrontation between the two forces of social development, not every round must bring about clear results. There were periods during which, due to a variety of reasons, events reflected the effect of long-term trends as though in slow motion, and in which the forces of the new society advancing to replace the obsolete old world and blaze the path to social progress also acquired the potential for future victories.

In the field of international relations, 1982 once again reflected the truth that the potential of the imperialist reaction is not unlimited and that it is unable to stop the course of historical progress. It suffices to recall the antisocialist and reactionary bedlam which prevailed in influential U.S. circles and NATO headquarters at the beginning of this year and the hopes to crush global socialism which were voiced, and to compare the plans of the organizers of the new "crusade" against communism and anything progressive with the circumstances which we are witnessing today, to reach the obvious conclusion that the positions of socialism, progress and peace remain unshaken.

Imperialism was and will remain unable to prove that it can secure military superiority for itself. The military-strategic balance remains the most important factor in maintaining the general stability in international relations, and such will it remain in the future. The socialist comity not only was not divided and rendered powerless but, conversely, continued to increase its power and to rally its ranks even closer. The dropping of the "sanctions" which the Reagan administration had announced against the Soviet Union merely confirmed the groundlessness of the political course of their initiators and the fact that their actions contradicted common sense. The militant imperialist circles will not gain any glory by their policy toward the national-liberation movement. As a whole, the progressive forces in the liberated countries strengthened their positions. The nonaligned movement withstood the pressure which was applied against and took on an even stronger anti-imperialist direction. The antimilitarist and antinuclear movement acquired unparalleled new scope and proved its growing effective possibilities.

"We believe," said Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "that the difficulties and tensions which characterize today's international situation can and must be surmounted. Mankind cannot endlessly tolerate an arms race and wars without gambling with its entire future."

Therefore, the events during the past year categorically confirmed once again that the policy of peace pursued by the USSR, allied with all peace-loving forces, expresses the basic interests of all nations and all mankind and that the cause of social and national liberation is following the right path.

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CSO: 1802/6

EFFECTIVENESS OF VISUAL AGITATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 82 pp 117-119

[Letter to the editors by G. Paleyev, artist-designer, Gomel Measuring Instruments Plant]

[Text] Visual agitation has become firmly established in the socialist community. It creates the political feeling needed at a specific time. It provides the masses with knowledge and information on the latest achievements and with immediate and long-term plans for economic and cultural development.

... Anyone who crosses the threshold of the Measuring Instruments Plant in Gomel immediately finds himself in the midst of the new developments promoted by the labor collective. Wall newspapers are regularly displayed on the colorful stand at the gate. Issues of the KOMSOMOL BEACON and FLASHES report successes achieved by leading and shock workers and production innovators and other significant events in enterprise life. On the way to his workplace, everyone has already acquired an idea of plant affairs. New arrivals quite quickly find out a large number of things about our enterprise, which enjoys a good reputation in the city.

In addition to the main stand, the plant has others for visual agitation. The most popular among them are the shop stands, the purpose of which is graphically to describe the basic production levels reached by one subunit or another, operatively to reflect the results of the competition and to describe the practical possibilities of duplicating records and new technological developments.

Traditionally, the information stand reports the life of the entire collective for a specific period of time. Portraits of frontrankers, rationalizers and project initiators are prominently displayed. People of all age groups, particularly the young, show great interest in announcements of sports activities and amateur performance circles. Frequently special exhibits are sponsored, special wall newspapers are issued and "congratulatory cards" are sent in honor of a specific individual. Information received from the fields and livestock farm of the sponsored kolkhoz stands out among the flood of other economic information.

A great deal of originality and inventiveness is shown in the work of plant artists and designers T. Snopok and T. Kovaleva, who in their work spare no

effort. They are assisted by amateur painters V. Gromyko, T. Ryzhenkov and other comrades. The creative collective has developed its own way of work, its own style. Whatever the case, the specialists are united in their opinion that visual agitation in our plant is original and fully up to date. Nevertheless, we continue to search and to experiment. The extent to which we succeed is difficult for us to judge. That is why I would like to share a few considerations on this subject.

Several years ago, after an extensive discussion held at a party committee meeting, we reached the conclusion that visual agitation in the shops was growing in width and depth. Was this good or bad? If its scope was broader it meant that it was good! Gradually, however, the cumbersome information stands were losing their impact. Naturally, this had to be corrected at all cost.

We studied the experience of industrial enterprises which make skillful use in propaganda activity of such modern technical facilities as radio and television equipment, electronic boards and light newspapers. This adds variety to the work and increases its influence. Unfortunately, at that time we did not have this kind of advanced equipment, for which reason we proceeded on the basis of our existing possibilities. For example, practical information (with few exceptions) was shifted to a special "information diary." The diary was prominently displayed on the stand and was accessible to all. The most interesting information it contained was transmitted daily on the shop radio in 3-4-minute broadcasts. The visual agitation stands did not, naturally, stop there, but continued to present long-term, or one might say strategic, information. The propaganda artists were able to work on such material thoroughly and thoughtfully in order to present ideas more accurately, profoundly and convincingly.

We conducted our experiment at the main assembly shop. The response was not bad and we were already discussing the possibility of extending the system to the other plant subdivisions. Soon afterwards we began our preparations. However, matters came to a standstill. By that time the plant had begun its reconstruction without an interruption in the work. Then changes took place in the party committee: the comrades newly elected to manage it failed to see the rationality of our research. Perhaps we were unable to convince them and failed to find adequate arguments. The new head of the assembly shop, I recall, half-jokingly said: "Keep experimenting but bear in mind that information on shop affairs must be visible."

Such was his wish...and once again the shop began to be covered with crowded exhibit stands, covered from top to bottom with every possible material, in such a way as to detract from ideological information.

Then a number of people expressed their serious regrets that we had not completed our experiment. We were ready to continue it but, naturally, on a higher artistic and technical level. It was good that the circumstances had also changed and that the reconstruction of the main shops had been essentially completed. However, the question which arose immediately was, what to begin with, what to use as a model? We turned to literary sources. This

enriched our knowledge and increased the number of supporters. It turned out that the same problems were affecting many people.

I recently visited the 8 Marta Hose-Knitting Factory, which is famous in the republic and beyond it for its good products. Visual agitation plays a noticeable role in the life of this enterprise. It is vivid and inventive and creates a militant feeling in the collective. It reports on current affairs, actively disseminates the experience of frontrankers and production innovators and efficiently covers the course and results of the socialist competition.

My guides and collocutors were V. T. Stankevich and the artist-designer V. I. Stasenko. We had a great deal to talk about and to discuss. Among other things, the conversation turned to how important it is for visual agitation to maintain its own style, its own "appearance." Yet it is no secret that quite frequently standardization and similarity are encouraged, although in propaganda activities one must strive precisely toward originality and uniqueness, always taking into consideration the spiritual requirements and needs of the people. Factory party committee secretary Valentina Timofeyevna Stankevich frankly stated that "it is true that our information stands are rather verbose. We are obviously leaning toward quantity at the expense of quality."

The conversation turned to the major topic of "Indicators, Conditions and Amounts of Bonuses Paid to Workers in Basic Professions." Standard-size sheets, typewritten, had been assembled like brochures and nailed to the board. Next to them were reference tables.... This was quite a lot of paper! Even a specialist would have found it difficult to find the necessary information, which should have been laid out on the tables in the Red Corner.

This led us to the conclusion that one should not mix agitation material with the visual aids which are extensively used at seminars in political circles and economics courses. In the course of a lecture or talk, one can analyze a problem thoroughly and understand it either by oneself or with the help of the teacher, whereas any visual agitation exhibit should be self-evident. The same applies to stands set up on streets, in recreation areas and in squares. It is those which express an idea graphically, rather than through extensive texts oversaturated with figures, that are effective.

Unquestionably, the technical arsenal of modern propaganda means, including visual agitation, has expanded. However, the traditional production tools of the artist--canvas, paper, brushes and pencil--are not by any means used skillfully everywhere. We should occasionally recall the tremendous dedication with which our colleagues--the painter-agitation propagandists--worked during the period of establishment of the Soviet system, during the Great Patriotic War and during the postwar period. We should improve on this rich heritage. We should make more daring use of the work methods and artistic style of the outstanding masters of Soviet poster art.

It seems to me that today we should discuss not only the practical aspect of the matter. We must be entirely clear as to the theory of the problem.

Occasionally even specialized publications interpret the concept of "visual agitation" inaccurately, considering it, for example, as merely "information." Essentially this is for the sake of maintaining a beautiful style, although in this case the logical meaning is disturbed.

The word "information" has several interpretations. The most popular is that of communication, information concerning the situation in a collective, city, country, the world, etc. To equate "visual agitation" with "information" means to ascribe to the latter a meaning it does not have. Yet at ideological conferences on various levels and in instructions and orders we frequently come across statements such as "we must ensure clarity" (or, in other words, develop the proper form) or "shape the clarity" (i.e., publicly present models, stands, and panels prepared beforehand). Such oversimplification in the use of the precise terminology does not contribute in the least to improving the implementation of planned measures.

Let us draw attention to the following as well: anyone involved in propaganda activities should be as well-informed about domestic and foreign events as possible. This helps the artists to feel more deeply and understand more accurately the social and political interrelationships in a rapidly changing modern world. In order to enhance the efficiency of visual agitation it would be well to involve in it psychologists, sociologists and professional artists in the field of political posters. Such a creative association would artistically enrich the range and strengthen the militancy of one of the most important means in our party's ideological and educational activities.

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CSO: 1802/6

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